THE SOURCES OF ISLÁM

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AN INQUIRY INTO THE SOURCES OF THE FAITH AND PRACTICE OF THE MUHAMMADAN RELIGION

BY

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Dedicated

to

The Memory of

The Late Mrs. C. E. Atkinson

A Loving Friend

and

Helper of All Missions

FOREWORD

In these times, when we have been brought more than ever into close contact with the Muḥammadan world through our experience of the part taken by the Turks in the late War and the agitation about the Khalífate, which affects us in India as well as in Egypt, Mesopotamia and other lands, a certain amount of interest has been aroused in people's minds with regard to the Muḥammadan Faith, the religion of Islám. This religion, though in somewhat varied form, bears sway over a very large part of the oriental world. The question of its origin must naturally occur to every thoughtful mind, and many wish to learn at least a few leading facts concerning its chief tenets, its history and its founder. Although Islám, as the religion in question is called by its professors, is of too recent an origin to lead students of comparative religion to concern themselves much with it, yet its influence in the past and even in the present, was and is too great to be passed over by the thoughtful student. Hence this book will, I trust, be found useful to many interested in Eastern matters. Its author, the Rev. John C. Blair, has long lived in the East, and has learnt about Muḥammadanism at first hand, not merely from books but also from contact and acquaintance with men who are themselves Muslims. But, besides this, his book bears witness to wide reading and careful study of the great subjects with which it so admirably deals. Mr. Blair has not only read and weighed almost all the leading authorities on these subjects, but he has

also given the result in a form both interesting and instructive. The reader will be able not only to learn whatever is good in Islám but also to perceive the influences which affected its founder in his early as well as in his later life, and he will thus be in a position to understand how much and how little originality to credit Muḥammad with. He will learn, too, how the corrupt state of oriental Christianity at the time affected his attitude towards the religion of the Cross, how it was that a man, at one time at least deeply in earnest about religious matters, was repelled from accepting the truth, and perceive what fatal consequences to a large part of the population of the world have resulted from corrupt Christianity. Muḥammadanism shews us clearly what Christianity would have been, had our Lord accommodated Himself to the prejudices and wishes of the militant part of the Jews in His own time. Muḥammad, instead of imitating the 'Prince of Peace' became the 'Prophet with the sword' and the religion which he founded has participated largely in the 'Prophet's' spirit and followed his example. It has failed to give men that which the human spirit needs: hence the Muslim world, as well as the rest, needs the proclamation of the Gospel of Christ.

W. St. Clair Tisdall.

PREFACE

EXPERIENCE of work among Muslims and other races in Western India, during the past thirty-four years, has given the writer an opportunity of gaining a knowledge of Islám which may justify this inquiry into the sources of its Faith and Practice.

When on furlough, eight years ago, a more detailed study of the subject was begun by him with a view to writing the present treatise. Later, periods of illness on the field gave additional opportunities for further study and, when on sick leave, many months were spent at the British Museum in original research on the subject.

In his study of the subject the writer has endeavoured to form his opinions not only from books, and the conclusions arrived at by others, but also from his intercourse with personal friends among Muḥammadans, Pársís, Jews and Hindús, in India.

The conclusions arrived at have been supported by references to numerous authorities, which, with the Qur'ánic references, are given as footnotes. Where the opinion of the writer differs from that of recognized authorities he has stated reasons in support of his own view.

The author hopes that the book will be of use to missionaries in their work among Muḥammadans, and to all students of Islám; and that mission study-circles in the Home Church will also find it helpful in their study of the Muḥammadan problem.

The usual etymological spelling of proper names has been followed, except in the case of a few well-known words such as Mecca, where any other spelling would appear pedantic.

The writer gratefully acknowledges the kindness of the following authorities in reading through the manuscript, and thanks them for giving several valuable suggestions: The Rev. Canon E. Sell, D.D., M.R.A.S.; the Rev. W. St. Clair Tisdall, M.A., D.D.; Professor D. S. Margoliouth, M.A., D.Litt., Oxford; the Rev. J. Sinclair Stevenson, M.A., B.D., Gujarat, India; and the late Rev. G. P. Taylor, M.A., D.D., Principal of Stevenson College, Ahmadabad, India. Especially are his thanks due to Dr. Tisdall, for writing a Foreword, and to Dr. Sell for reading and correcting the proofs when the manuscript was passing through the press.

J.C.B.

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CORRIGENDA

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3, note 1, line 5 *for* Ka'ba, *read* Ka'ba ; and elsewhere.
side-heading : *for* Africa, *read* Arabia.
note 2, line 8 *for* 52, 53, *read* 53, 54.

11, note 4, (p. 10) line 9 *for* linquas, *read* linguas.

14, note 4, line 4 *for Jalkut*, *read Yalkut*.

15, note 3 *for* Súratu'l-A'ráf (vii), *read* Súratu'l-Hadíd (lvii).

15, note 7, line 1 *for* Yúnus, *read* Yúnas.

115, line 13 *for* Lá-iláha-il-lal-laho, *read* Lá-iláha Il-lalláhu.

140, line 27 *for* Dhu'lkaada, *read* Dhu'l-Qa'da.

INTRODUCTION

AMONG the problems of peace which have followed the great world-war, the Muhammadan problem, which affects the British Empire in many parts of the world, is by no means the least prominent. And when we consider the extent of the Islámic world, embracing, besides Turkey, a large part of Africa, all Arabia, Syria, Persia, Afghanistan, almost a fourth part of India,[1] and comprising one-eighth of the world's population, or about two hundred million people,[2] who profess the Faith and observe the Practice of Islám, an inquiry into the sources of this Faith and Practice, apart from the interest inherent in the subject, cannot but be of great importance at the present time.

The importance of the subject

Opportunity of writer for the study of the subject

A residence of over thirty years in the East, where in the course of his calling, the writer was brought into personal contact with the Muhammadans of Western India, and has often, both publicly and in private, discussed with

[1] According to the last census of India, taken in 1921, there were 68,735,233 Muslims in India.

[2] It is difficult to give absolutely accurate figures, owing to the absence of a census report in the Turkish Empire. Dr. S. M. Zwemer, who is a high authority on Islám, in his address delivered at the Keswick Convention in 1915, stated that 'there are scarcely 200,000,000 Muhammadans in the world' (*vide The Keswick Week*, 1915, p. 4).

Professor D. S. Margoliouth (*Mohammedanism*, p. 8) says—'The number of Moslems in the world has been reckoned at 15·543 per cent of its whole population. For 1906 this was calculated at about 233 millions.'

their Maulavis[1] and others, in the vernacular, the foundations of the Muslim Faith, and visits to Egypt, Syria, and Palestine during furlough, which enlarged his knowledge of Islám, and gave him some acquaintance with the Bedouin tribes of the desert—these circumstances have afforded the writer a unique opportunity for the study of the present inquiry.

The problem stated

How, then, did Islám arise? How, and from what sources, did Muḥammad, its founder, obtain the religious concepts which characterize its Faith and Practice? To what extent was he indebted to the religious beliefs of his race, and, also, to those beliefs which had been imported by foreign elements in the population? What did he borrow from other and earlier religious systems? And, finally, what elements in his system may be attributed exclusively to the personality of Muḥammad?

Such is the problem before us, the solution of which, in so far as we can trace correctly the answers to the above questions, will furnish us with the sources of Islám.

It must not be supposed, however, that the mere similarity of the doctrines and religious practices of the Qur'án with those of Judaism or other Faiths, establishes the fact that Muḥammad borrowed his Qur'ánic tenets from these Faiths; for there are some religious concepts common to nearly every religion. But if it can be shown that the specific doctrines and practices of Islám existed in other religions, prior to the rise of Islám, it may be reasonably concluded that the Sources of Islám are to be found in these earlier religions.

[1] A Muslim doctor of divinity; also used of any teacher of the Muslim religion.

Before any inquiry can be made concerning the sources of the Islámic religion, it will be necessary, first of all, to ask, 'What are the peculiar principles or dogmas of Islám?' In this inquiry, therefore, our mode of procedure will be to enunciate these principles first, and then, where possible, trace them to their sources.

Mode of procedure

We must postulate, at the outset, that the scope of our inquiry will be largely restricted to what is contained in the Qur'án, which, as Sir William Muir has well said, is 'the groundwork and text of all inquiries into the origin of Islám.'[1]

Inquiry chiefly restricted to Qur'an

The teaching of that great body of Muḥammadan tradition which has grown up since the Qur'án was reduced to writing scarcely falls within the purview of our inquiry, except so far as it may amplify, or throw light upon, any passage of the Qur'án which may be under consideration.

It must be granted, however, that Muḥammadans regard the Ḥadíth or Tradition as a part of their rule of faith, and as possessing, also, a certain measure of inspiration. But as Muslim Tradition remained in an unrecorded form for almost a century, and was, therefore, liable to error in its oral transmission, and as it contains matter affected by bias and prejudice as well as much that is fictitious and fabricated, and is, moreover, on some subjects,[2] in direct variance with the Qur'án, it is manifestly outside our province

[1] Sir W. Muir's, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. i. p. xxvii.

[2] Tradition abounds with Muḥammad's miracles, yet in the Qur'án, Muḥammad disclaimed the power of working miracles. Súratu Bani Isrá'íl (xvii) 61, 92-95, 106 ; *vide* p. 68.

to discuss the evidence for its acceptance. And, further, as faction[1] also played a large part in the compilation of Tradition, and we are never sure of being on historical ground, we may safely confine our attention chiefly to what is contained in the Qur'án, from which Muḥammad professed to derive all his teaching, and which is the only authentic record of his 'revelations.'

[1] The followers of the House of 'Alí, together with the 'Abbásids, conspired to overthrow the Umaiyah dynasty, and to accomplish their object they perverted and fabricated tradition.

Kuenen (*Hibbert Lectures*, 1882, p. 11) says: 'The tradition is coloured throughout by the dogmatic convictions of the first believers, and is often open to the gravest suspicion.'

PART I

CHAPTER I

PRE-ISLÂMIC ARABIA

No one can escape the influence of the age in which he lives. Environment always affects and, as it were, colours a man's thoughts and their expression, as well as all his overt acts. To form, therefore, a just estimate of any historic personage, we must become acquainted with his historical background.

Influence of environment

Perhaps there is no one to whom this principle more aptly applies than to Muḥammad, the Founder of Islám. Certainly no religious 'reformer' was more influenced by his environment than he. Born and brought up in Arabia, inheriting the Arab's imaginative faculty and love of poetry, belonging, though poor, to a noble family,[1] for some years a child of the desert, and afterwards a shepherd leading his flocks amid the Arabian hills and dales, the sublime mystery of the desert and the impressive grandeur of the hills would appeal vividly to a religious temperament like Muḥammad's, and excite within him high and lofty thoughts of the Supreme Being.

upon Muhammad in early life

Then, when a young man, he attended the annual fairs and religious gatherings of his people, and witnessed those literary contests of poetical effusions in which the Arab mind delighted. Thus would Muḥammad's receptive imagi-

and when a young man

[1] The Quraish, who were 'the most noble and polite of all the Arabians.' Muḥammad's father, 'Abdu'lláh, died before his son was born, and the child was committed to the protection of his grandfather, 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib, who was high priest of the Ka'ba, and the foremost chief of Mecca.

nation become saturated with the religious sentiments of the Arabs, while, as we shall see later, his contact with the purer and more spiritual Faiths of the Jews and Christians residing in Arabia, coupled with his commercial journeys into Syria, where his knowledge of these Faiths became enlarged, would suggest to him, when compared with the degrading idolatry of his people, thoughts of another Faith, wherein he might combine what he considered the best in these systems of belief, stripped of what appeared to him to be their blemishes, and wherein also he might find the realization of his religious aspirations, and achieve, at the same time, his political ambitions.

Muhammad's political aim

It can scarcely be doubted, as many writers on Islám have pointed out, that the political side of his propaganda was kept prominently before the mind of Muḥammad from the very commencement of his mission, and that, besides being a religious teacher and reformer, he also aimed at being the ruler of Arabia, the unifier of his countrymen, and their liberator from foreign control.[1] Whether this lofty ambition exceeded the bounds of nationality and aimed at universal empire, as ascribed to him by tradition, and which some verses in the Qur'án seem to indicate, cannot now, with certainty, be determined.[2] Islám itself, however, as a religion,

[1] It is related that on one occasion, in the early Meccan period, Muḥammad's uncle and patron, through whose protection Muḥammad's liberty, though attacking their religion, was not interfered with by the Meccans, in order to conciliate them, requested his nephew to moderate his offensive conduct, when Muḥammad replied 'Then give me that by which I can free my countrymen from the dominion of Persia.'

[2] Authorities are divided on this subject. Professor S. Hurgronje, Lammens, Muir and others take the negative view, while Nöldeke believes that the programme of conquest carried out after Muḥammad's death had been drawn up by the prophet himself. Prof. T. W. Arnold states that from the beginning Muḥammad considered his mission to be universal (*The Preaching of Islám*, 2nd ed., pp. 28-31). Prof. D. S. Margoliouth (*Mohammedanism*, p. 15): says 'Islám contemplated imperialism from the first.' Mírzá Ghulám Aḥmad (*Teachings of Islám*, pp.

because of its unalterable, stereotyped character can never attain to universalism.

But to understand clearly the nature of Muḥammad's environment, and to form an adequate appreciation of his historical background, which, doubtless, moulded largely his religious and political outlook, we must become acquainted with the religious and political conditions of Arabia in pre-Islámic times, or, as Muslims call them, 'the Times of Ignorance.'

Muḥammad's historical background

What was the ethnic character of the people of Arabia, and what were their worship and religious practices? What elements in the population were alien or foreign to Arabia, having become settlers in the country by immigration, and what was their religion? And what were the social and political conditions in Arabia in the time of Muḥammad, just before the rise of Islám? Any light which may be thrown on these questions will materially assist us in our quest for the sources of Islám, as revealing at least some of the factors and influences at work in Muḥammad's environment which caused him, perhaps in some respects unconsciously, to conceive and give concrete expression to the politico-religious system which he founded.

The Arabs are said to be of Abrahamic descent. This claim as regards the northern and western inhabitants of the country cannot be disputed.[1] From the north large bodies

The Arabs Semitic in origin

79, 80) says: 'The mission of the Prophet was . to be universal.'. Weil states: 'The idea became fixed in Muḥammad's mind that Islám as the only true religion was a religion meant not only for the Arabs but for all mankind.'

Several passages in the Qur'án seem to confirm this view: cf. Súratu Yúsuf (xii) 104, ('It (the Qur'án) is simply an instruction for *all mankind*'); Súratu's-Sabá' (xxxiv) 27 ('We have sent thee to mankind at large'); Kuenen (*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 53), however, states, 'The Arabic nationality was not the cradle, but the boundary-wall of Islám.'

[1] Josephus (*Antiq. Jud.*, Bk. 1, Chap. x. p. 26) says: Ἄραβὲς δὲ μετὰ ἔτος τρὶς καὶ δέκατον. Ἰσμάηλος γὰρ ὁ κτίστης

of these Abrahamic tribes migrated southwards, penetrating Yaman and Central Arabia, and Muḥammadan tradition speaks of some, also, settling in Mecca, where the national tradition of their Abrahamic descent was prevalent before the time of Muḥammad. Moreover, besides this national tradition, the close affinity of the Arabic language to the Hebrew tongue in derivation, construction and idiom, points to a similar conclusion.

While there are traces of foreign or Ethiopian elements in the population, and it has been maintained that the first settlers in the Peninsula were of Hamitic descent,[1] it is indisputable that the great mass of the people were Semitic in their origin and religion, and were, at first, followers of the Faith of Abraham in worshipping the One True God.[2]

αὐτῶν τοῦ ἔθνους, Ἀβράμῳ γενόμενος ἐκ τῆς παλλακῆς ἐν τούτῳ περετέμνεται τῷ χρόνῳ ('The Arabs administer circumcision after the thirteenth year; for *Ishmael, the founder of their nation*, the son of Abraham by his concubine, was circumcised at that time of life').

The pure Arabs are said to have been descended from Joktan, the great-grandson of Arphaxad, the son of Shem (Gen. x. 22, 25); *vide* Sir W. Muir's Introduction to his *Life of Mahomet*, vol. i, pp. cxi-cxxv; Tisdall's *Religion of the Crescent*, p. 127 Mírzâi Ghulâm Aḥmad, *The Teachings of Islam*, pp. 78, 79.

[1] Early Arabian inscriptions confirm this.

[2] Prof. D. S. Margoliouth has pointed out that the inscriptions which go back into remote antiquity are polytheistic. And Kuenen (*Hibbert Lectures*, 1882, p. 19) asserts: 'The opinion that Mohammed came to reawaken and to restore what already existed amongst his people, if only as a faint reminiscence of a distant past, finds no support in the Qur'ân.' Kuenen's argument is inconclusive. If we accept the Abrahamic descent of the Arabs (which can scarcely be disputed), it follows that their ancient faith was 'the faith of Abraham,' viz. belief in the unity of God, faint glimmerings of which, as we shall see later, still existed in Arabia in Muḥammad's time. Sprenger, Muir, Tisdall, Arnold, Mírzá Ghulâm Aḥmad and other authorities hold the view stated in the text. J. M. Arnold (*Islâm*, p. 16) says 'At the bottom of the pagan creed of the ancient Arabs we have a disfigured patriarchal faith.' Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khân (*Essay on Various Religions of Pre-Islâmic Arabs*, p. 6) says 'Four distinct revealed religions have from time to time prevailed in Arabia.' One of these, he says, was 'the religion of Abraham.'

Religious and political condition of Africa in seventh century

In the seventh century of our era, just before the rise of Islám, the people of Arabia consisted largely of independent tribes and clans, speaking the same language and observing the same religious customs, but without any recognised central authority.

Independent tribes and clans. Their religion gross idolatry

Their religion was at this time gross idolatry, each tribe possessing its own tribal deity, while special reverence was paid to the Ka'ba, or temple of Mecca, which they called Baitu'lláh, or the 'House of God.' According to tradition the Ka'ba possessed three hundred and sixty idols, one of which is said to have been a picture of the Virgin Mary and child.

Sabianism

Ṣábianism, the religion of a sect[1] which some have identified as semi-Christian, and others as largely anti-Christian, but who believed in the Divine Unity and worshipped the host of heaven along with the angels and their images, was prevalent among the Arabs, and some of the rites and practices of this sect were adopted by them, and afterwards imported into Islám by Muḥammad.[2] There is reason to believe, as Sir William Muir has pointed out, that this cult, as regards the worship of the heavenly bodies, was, in Arabia, the earliest form of departure from the pure adoration of the deity.[3]

[1] The Ṣábians appear to be of Hamitic descent. *Vide* Gen. x. 7.

[2] Abú'l-Fidá, in his At-Tawáríkhu'l Qádímah (*Hist. Ante-Islámica*, p. 148), quotes from an early Arabic writer, Abú 'Isa'l Maghribí, an account of this sect and their practices, which shows many points of contact with Islám.

The Qur'ánic injunction [Súratu'l-Fuṣṣilat (xli) 37], 'Bend not in adoration to the sun or the moon, but bend in adoration before God who created them both,' refers to the Ṣábian practice of worshipping the heavenly bodies; *vide* chap. v. pp. 52, 53.

Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khán (*Religions of Pre-Islamic Arabs*, p. 6), also refers to the similarity between the religious practices of the Ṣábians and Muḥammadans, as regards prayer and fasting.

[3] Sir W. Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, Intro. p. ciii; Tisdall's *Religion of the Crescent*, p. 128. Cf. Job xxxi. 26-28; Ezek. viii. 16.

Fetichism

Fetichism was also prevalent among the Arabs in the veneration paid by them to sacred stones. This custom of 'setting up' stones, which was common in Palestine in the Patriarchal period,[1] dates from great antiquity in Arabia, and was an ancient form of Semitic worship. Ibn Isháq, the earliest biographer of the Prophet whose writings have come down to us, says that the custom arose from the practice of the Arabs, when going on a journey, of carrying away stones from the Ka'ba and paying homage to them wherever they went.

The Arabs still retained a knowledge of the One True God

But although there had thus been a falling away from the primitive Faith of Abraham, resulting in a moral and spiritual declension of the race,[2] there is evidence to show that the knowledge of the One True God, faint and imperfect though it was, had never really faded from the minds of the people. This subject will be discussed more fully in chapter iii, when dealing with the Unity of God. It is sufficient here to say that, along with the worship of their tribal and minor deities, the worship of Alláh Ta'ála', 'God Most High,'[3] was also performed by the Arabs, who regarded their inferior deities as intercessors with Him.

Jewish tribes in Arabia

Further, scattered throughout the peninsula, there were colonies of Jewish tribes who, in early times, had sought a refuge in Arabia from the calamities which had befallen them in

[1] cf. Genesis xxviii. 18; xxxi. 45, 52; xxxv. 14; Exod. xxiv. 4; Joshua iv. 3, 7, 8; xxiv. 26, 27 1 Samuel vii. 12; *vidé* also Palmer's *Qur'án*, p. xiii.

[2] *vide The Teachings of Islám*, Mîrzâ Ghulám Ahmad, pp. 20, 166-7. Dr. J. M. Arnold (*Islám*, p. 29) says: '*The Arabs* had widely swerved from their original patriarchal faith. The religion of the Arabs presents to us remnants of the patriarchal faith, the Sâbian worship of the heavenly bodies, and the elements of a more corrupt idolatry.'

[3] Abulfarag, 160. See also Palmer's *Qur'án*, p. xii; Sale's *Koran*, p. 12; Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, p. xvii, note. See also Tisdall's *Sources of the Qur'án*, pp. 33, 40, 260.

their own country;[1] and it cannot be doubted that the knowledge of the One God was fostered in the Arab mind by intercourse with these Jews.

In the north, two states of Hira and Ghassan

There were also in the north the two states or kingdoms of Ḥíra and Ghassán, both of Arab origin, through which the peninsula was brought into contact with the outer world. Ḥíra, in the north-east, was adjacent to Persia and subject to it, while Ghassán, in the north-west, was subject to Rome.

Christianity introduced into these states in fourth century

Christianity seems to have been introduced into these states in the fourth century, and in the sixth century it appears to have become the Court religion at Ḥíra. In Ghassán, a bishop, consecrated from Rome, had put an end to idolatry.

Just before the rise of Islám, these kingdoms had become decadent, and their glory had departed. Their power and influence in the peninsula were of the past. Thus in the north the ambition of the warrior-prophet to be ruler of Arabia was rendered easier of achievement.

Yaman subjugated by Abyssinia

ultimately became subject to Persia

In the south there was the kingdom of Yaman—the cradle of the Arab race—from which, by the migration of some of its tribes in the second century, both Ḥíra and Ghassán arose. This state, after passing through many vicissitudes, was invaded and subjugated by the forces of the Negus of Abyssinia in A.D. 525, because of the cruel persecution of the Christians in the adjoining province of Najrán by Dzu Nowas, the ruler of Yaman, who had become a Jewish proselyte. But the rule of the Negus becoming distasteful to the Arabs, the Abyssinians were ultimately driven out of Yaman, and the state became subject to Persia.

[1] The sack of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar; the havoc wrought by the successors of Alexander the Great; the attacks of Pompey sixty-four years before the Christian era, and of Titus seventy years after it; and the cruel retribution of Hadrian inflicted on Judæa in A.D. 136, are some of the calamities which drove many of the Jews into Arabia.

Thus amid the paganism of Arabia, there were scattered Jewish tribes and Christians[1] by whom the knowledge of Judaism and Christianity was spread among the Arabs, many of whom embraced Judaism, and not a few, also, Christianity.

Zoroastrianism

Moreover, as the Peninsula had been brought into contact with Persia, a knowledge of the Zoroastrian Faith, and of the legends and folklore of Persia was current among the Arabs; and, as we shall see later, Muḥammad drew not a little of his teaching from this source. Again and again his own townsfolk charged him with repeating in the Qur'án only 'tales of the Ancients.'[2]

Arabian Judaism and Christianity corrupt

It should, however, be noted here that the Judaism and Christianity which had found a home in Arabia were not the pure Faiths of the Old and New Testaments with which we are familiar. In that corrupt age, having lost much of their simplicity and purity and become embellished with legendary tales and false doctrines, both these systems of religion had become corrupt and effete.[3] The tales and legends which had thus grown up, with their distorted views of Scripture history, together with the 'floating Christian traditions of Arabia and of Southern Syria,' would find a ready access to the mind of Muḥammad; and as there is no evidence to prove that the Scriptures had been translated into Arabic previous to the time of Muḥammad,[4]

[1] Zwemer (*Arabia*, p. 163) says, 'Jews and Christians . dwelt in the vicinity of Mecca for two hundred years before the Hegira' (*vide* also J. M. Arnold's *Islám*, pp. 33, 34).

[2] 'And they say, "Tales of the ancients that he hath put in writing; and they were dictated to him morn and even"' [Súratu'l-Furqán (xxv) 6].

[3] Chrysostom says, 'The world had entered the Church.'

[4] The earliest known Arabic version of the Old Testament is that of R. Saadias Gaon, A.D. 900; and the oldest Arabic version of the New Testament is that transcribed by a Coptic Bishop in 1171, from a copy the date of which is uncertain. Some writers maintain that there was an Arabic version of the Scriptures before Muḥammad's time, which he destroyed in order to prevent his charge against the 'People of the Book' being refuted. But

or that he had access to the original sources of these books, or if he had,[1] that he, the 'unlettered Prophet,'[2] could have availed himself of their contents, we can readily perceive how the true and the false would commingle and become assimilated in the untrained but master mind of Muḥammad.

Such, then, are the general features of Muḥammad's historical background, as regards the religious and political condition of Arabia at the beginning of the seventh century.

The question now to be considered is, to what extent was Muḥammad influenced by this background? What did he borrow from the various religious beliefs and systems then current in Arabia, and incorporate into the system which he founded and called by the name of Islám?[3] And how far can we trace to

What did Muhammad borrow from the cults around him?

it is difficult to conceive how Muḥammad or his followers could have destroyed every copy of this Arabic version, if such then existed. Theodoretus (A.D. 450), it is true, said that the Old Testament had been translated into every language spoken in his time, but among those specified by him no mention is made of an Arabic version. 'Hebraici libri non modo in Graecum idioma conversi sunt, sed in Romanam quoque linguam, Ægypticam, Persicam, Indicam, Armanicam, et Scythicam, atqueadeo Sauromaticam, Semelque ut dicam in linquas omnes, quibus ad hanc diem nationes utuntur' (Theodoretus, Bk. v. de Curan Graecor. tom ii. p. 521). The Ethiopic, Chaldee and Syriac versions are also omitted from this list, so that no definite conclusion can be based on this testimony.

[1] Fragments of these Scriptures may have reached Muḥammad through his wife, Khadíja, or her cousin Waraqa, who are said to have been acquainted with the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. Waraqa is said to have been a convert to Christianity.

[2] The Qur'án, Súratu'l A'ráf (vii) 156. Cf. Súratu'l-'Ankabút (xxix) 47. The Arabic word translated here 'unlettered' really means 'Gentile' (al-Nabí'l-*Ummi*, i.e. 'The Prophet of the Gentiles' as distinguished from a prophet of the Jews and Christians, the 'People of the Book'); it refers to Muḥammad's ignorance of the Scriptures of earlier prophets, before Islám was revealed.

[3] Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 106, 132; Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 18, 19, 79; Súratu'l-Aḥzáb (xxxiii) 35; Súratu'l Ḥujurát (xlix) 14.

The word Islám is derived from the root Saláma which, means safe,' 'secure' whence we get Salám = 'peace,' and

their source these borrowed 'revelations' which are contained in the Qur'án, and which he affirmed to be from God?

Our first inquiry will naturally be concerning the nature and claims of the Qur'án.

Taslím = 'surrender,' 'capitulation.' These are extensions of the root Salâma; whence also Islám (another extension—the infinitive) which means the state of security or safety owing to resignation to the will of God. Abdul Ḥaqq says, Islâm means 'Submission to the Divine Will.' Such it is, at least, in theory, but in practice Islâm is a religion of 'works,' and the resignation which it denotes is that of fear and helplessness.

CHAPTER II

THE QUR'ÂN

'VERILY IT IS A REVELATION FROM THE LORD'[1]

Meaning of Qur'an

The word Qur'án means 'the reading' or 'the recitation,' and is the term given by Muḥammad to the 'revelations' which he claimed to have received from God.[2]

Muhammad's claim concerning it

These 'revelations,' he affirmed, were from all eternity inscribed on the 'Preserved Tablet'[3] in heaven, and were sent down from the highest to the lowest heaven, and revealed to him from time to time by the Archangel Gabriel.

Nature of Muhammad's inspiration

The nature of Muḥammad's inspiration is said to be objective, as the 'revelations' were communicated to him in the very words of God, through a medium external and known to him. It thus differs from the subjective

[1] Súratu'sh-Shu'ará' (xxvi) 192; cf. Súratu'l-Aḥqáf (xlvi) i.

[2] Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 84; Súratu'l-Aḥqáf (xlvi) 3, 7 Súratu'n-Najm (liii) 4.

[3] The original of these 'revelations' was said to be preserved under the Eternal Throne of God, and, hence, was called the 'Preserved Tablet.'

It may be noted here that the divine 'dictation' theory is a familiar one in the *Talmud* (*vide* p. 27, n. 2). In the tractate *Maggillah*, fol. 7 *a*, it is said: 'Shemuel asserted that the Book of Esther was dictated by the Holy Spirit. Yes, dictated for oral repetition.' And in *Baba Bathra*, fol. 15 *a*, in reference to the last eight verses of the Book of Deuteronomy (death of Moses), it is said Up to this verse the Holy One, blessed be He, dictated, and Moses repeated and wrote it down; and from this verse forward He dictated, and Moses, with tears in his eyes, wrote it down; as thus it is read (Jer. xxxvi. 18): "Then said Baruch unto them, With His mouth did He utter clearly all these words unto me, and I wrote them in the book with ink."'

inspiration of the sacred writers of the Old and New Testaments, 'who spoke as they were moved by the Holy Ghost,' along the line of their own reason.

Testimony of Qur'an to its divine origin

The claim of a divine origin which Muḥammad makes for the Qur'án, and which is accepted by Muslim divines and the Muḥammadan world in general, is set forth in many of its Súras, and endorsed by Muslim Tradition.

'It is a glorious Qur'án written on a Preserved Table';[1] 'verily we have caused it to descend on the night of Power';[2] 'This Qur'án could not have been composed by any except God';[3] 'With Him is the Mother of the Book';[4] 'He (Gabriel) . by God's leave hath caused the Qur'án to descend on thy heart';[5] 'We have sent it down piecemeal';[6] 'And to thee we

[1] Súratu'l-Burúj (lxxxv) 21, 22. It is interesting to note the origin of the idea of the 'Preserved Tablet.' Muḥammad borrowed the idea from the Jewish account of the two tablets of stone upon which God wrote the Law (Deut. x. 1-5). The word for tablet is the same in Hebrew and Arabic; and as the stone tablets were preserved in the Ark which was kept within the Tabernacle—the symbol of God's Presence—the idea arose that they were preserved in heaven. Later, the belief arose among the Jews that the whole of the Old Testament and the Talmud (*vide* p. 27, n. 2) were also written upon these tablets. Muḥammad, coming to know this, naturally claimed that his Qur'án was also written upon one of these tablets, or it would not have been of equal authority with the Old Testament. Moreover, the Arabic is 'a' (not 'the') 'Preserved Tablet,' which indicates that there was a reference to the two tablets which were preserved in the Ark of the Covenant. In the tract *Ábôth*, fol. 12 *b*, col. 1, it is said that at the creation of the world, 'Ten things were created on the eve of the Sabbath at twilight'; among these ten things were 'the writing and the tables of stone.'

[2] Súratu'l-Qadar (xcvii) cf. Súratu Bani Isrá'íl (xvii) 106; Súratu'l-An'ám (vi) 114.

[3] Súratu Yúnas (x) 38.

[4] Súratu'r-Ra'd (xiii) 39, i.e. the original of the Qur'án existed either in the Mind of God, or was written upon the 'Preserved Tablet.' There is also a Jewish tradition that the Law existed before the Creation. *Midr. Jalkut*, 7.

[5] Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 91.

[6] Súratu Bani Isrá'íl (xvii) 107; Súratu'l-Furqán (xxv) 34. The Jews also say that the Law was given to Moses by parcels.

have sent down the book with truth confirmatory of previous Scriptures and their safeguard';[1] it is 'an explication of everything necessary';[2] 'No mischance chanceth either on earth or in your own persons, but ere we created them it was in the book'.[3]

The 'Ulamá[4] of Islám are also dogmatic in their assertions concerning the divine origin of the Qur'án.

Testimony of Muslim divines

An-Nasafí, who lived in the sixth century of the Ḥijra, says, 'The Qur'án is the uncreated Word of God.' Al-Ghazálí says, 'The Qur'án .. is subsisting in the essence of God.' And Ibn Khaldún writes, 'The Qur'án descended in the language of the Arabs. And it continued to descend, section by section and in groups of verses, in order to explain the doctrine of the Unity of God and religious obligations, according as circumstances required.'[5] This Arabic writer also says, 'It was verily the Qur'án with which our Prophet was inspired, in the form of something recited just as it is in its words and in its sections; whereas the Law and the Gospel were revealed to the Prophets in the form of ideas, and they explained them . in their customary language.'[6]

The Qur'án is regarded by the Muḥammadan world in general as the great outstanding miracle of Islám.

The Qur'an is the miracle of Islam

We must admit that in some passages, especially those which describe the majesty and attributes of God, its sublime language is comparable only to that used by some of the Old Testament prophets. Muḥammad, when challenged by his opponents to work a miracle, referred them to the Qur'án, and challenged them in return to produce even one Súra like it.[7]

[1] Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 52.
[2] Súratu'n-Naḥl (xvi) 91; cf. Súratu'l-An'ám (vi) 38.
[3] Súratu'l-A'ráf (vii) 22.
[4] Muslim doctors of divinity.
[5] *Arabic Text*, vol. ii. p. 391.
[6] Idem, vol. i, pp. 171, 172.
[7] Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 21; Súratu Yúnus (x) 39; cf. Súratu Húd (xi) 16; Súratu Bani Isrá'íl (xvii) 90.

Muḥammad and his followers thus claim that the Qur'án is the Divine Word of God, according to which the sole source of Islám is none other than God Himself. But is this claim valid? Can it be substantiated? This is the question now before us, and an investigation of the contents of the Qur'án will enable us to arrive at a very definite conclusion.[1]

Validity of claim

We must first point out that a sect of Muslim freethinkers, called the Mu'tazilas, who flourished in the second and third centuries of the Ḥijra, denied the eternal nature of the Qur'án, and, holding that it was created, asserted the subjective character of its 'revelations.'[2]

Mu'tazilas reject it

This sect passed away, and though a modern school, consisting of such men as Mr. Justice Sayyid 'Ali, influenced by western culture, has arisen holding the same liberal views, the orthodox theologians[3] of Islám, as well as popular opinion, reject their teaching as heretical and dangerous.

A modern school also rejects it. Orthodox Islam accepts it

It should also be noted, when investigating the contents of the Qur'án, that its various 'revelations,' as collected and collated after Muḥammad's death, are destitute of any chronological, or topical, arrangement. Earlier and later Súras, and Súras treating of the most diverse subjects, are brought together in wild confusion, and some of its chapters contain 'revela-

No chronological or topical arrangement in Qur'an

[1] We may note here the charges brought against Muḥammad by the Quraish, his own townsmen, viz. that he was a fabricator, and that a certain person taught him. [Súratu'n-Naḥl (xvi), 103 105]; and they call his Qur'án 'mere tales of the ancients,' Súratu'l-Anfál (viii), 31.

[2] Several Arab writers have also held this view. Ishmael Ibn 'Ali maintained the human character of the Qur'án, and that its composition could be equalled. Al Kindi, in his *Apology* (which was written about 215 years after the Ḥijra, i.e. about A.D. 830), says: 'From my own intimate acquaintance with the book, for I am an Arab, I know that it contains corruptions, that it is destitute of order, style, elegance, or accuracy of composition or diction.'

[3] *vide* Mírzá Ghulám Aḥmad's *Teachings of Islám*.

tions' promulgated at both Mecca and Madína,[1] the later passages not infrequently preceding the earlier ones. To read, therefore, the Qur'án as it is printed in most editions would convey no idea of its gradual historical development.

Attempts made to correct this

Attempts, however, have been made, notably by Weil and Nöldeke, followed by Sell,[2] Rodwell,[3] and Sir W. Muir, upon internal evidence and events in Muḥammad's life, together with Muslim tradition and the contemporary circumstances of the times, to give the Súras some kind of logical and chronological sequence, as they may have been delivered by Muḥammad.

No systematic teaching on religion or ethics

Moreover, the 'Book' contains no systematic teaching on either religion or ethics, its dogmas and moral precepts occurring indiscriminately throughout its Súras.[4]

With these hints and clues to guide us in our study of the Qur'án, we find that its earlier Súras consist of

[1] Imám Abú'l-Qásim Ḥasan Ibn Muḥammed, in his introduction to the MS. *Chamis*, says 'Whosoever will give his opinion respecting the book of God must know how the Súras appeared in succession in Mecca as well as in Madína. . He must be able to discover which Mecca verses are mixed up with Madína Súras, and which Madína verses were confounded with Mecca Súras.'

[2] *The Historical Development of the Qur'an*, by Canon E. Sell, D.D. (S P.C.K. and C.L.S., Madras).

[3] In Rodwell's *Koran* the Súras are arranged chronologically, as far as can be ascertained.

[4] Carlyle, who has written a high eulogy on Muḥammad, wrote, at the same time, one of the severest criticisms of his book. 'It (the Qur'án) is as toilsome reading as I ever undertook. A wearisome, confused jumble, crude, incondite, endless iterations, long-windedness, entanglement ; most crude, incondite —insupportable stupidity in short. With every allowance, one feels it difficult to see how any mortal ever could consider this (Koran) as a book written in Heaven, too good for the Earth, as a well-written book, or indeed as a book at all, and not a bewildered rhapsody ; written, so far as writing goes, as badly as almost any book ever was' (*Heroes and Hero-Worship*, pp. 59, 60). Of Muḥammad, Carlyle also writes (p. 61): 'The man was an uncultured, semi-barbarous Son of Nature, much of the Bedouin still clinging to him.' 'A candid ferocity is in him' (p. 66); 'This wild Son of Nature' (p. 68). Yet Muḥammad is Carlyle's Hero-prophet !

Character of earlier Suras

wild poetic rhapsodies, sometimes tinged with melancholy, and sometimes charged with warning and expostulation, and at other times expressing the perplexity and fervour of a mind groping after the truth. Later, when Muḥammad had assumed the prophetic office, the Súras ring with fervid denunciations of the idolatry of his countrymen, before whom he held forth the terrors of the Day of Judgment and the pains of hell-fire; while he also painted in glowing colours the sensual joys of Paradise for the Faithful, who believed in the One God Who had no 'partners.'[1]

Muhammad's relations with the Jews

Muḥammad's relations with the Jews, being at first of a friendly nature, encouraged him to believe that they would recognize him as their promised Prophet, and his 'revelations' began to contain increasing references to their sacred Scriptures, whose divine authority he at this time acknowledged as co-ordinate with that of the Qur'án, which, he said, was 'confirmatory of previous Scriptures.'[2]

His references to their Scriptures

When, in later years, Islám had crystallised into a system, and, as the *latest* 'revelation' of God's will, was held to supersede these previous revelations, and although, at the last Pilgrimage, Muḥammad banned both Jews and Christians from the sacred precincts of the Ka'ba and also from engaging in its rites, he, however, never repudiated these Scriptures, nor did he ever deny their authority, but always regarded them, and spoke of them, with reverence (*vide* pp. 29, 52, 53).

During the early Meccan period Muḥammad only assumed the rôle of a 'warner'[3] and exhorter,

[1] Or 'associates' or 'companions'; these terms are used in the Qur'án to designate idols. Súratu'z-Zumar (xxxix) 65.

[2] Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 52; cf. Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 2; Súratu Yúnas (x) 38.

[3] Súratu'l-A'ráf (vii) 188; Súratu'l-Furqán (xxv) 1; Súratu-'l-Aḥzáb (xxxiii) 44; Súratu'l-Fuṣṣilat (xli) 18; Súratu'sh-Shúrá (xlii) 5; Súratu'n-Názi'át (lxxix) 45; Súratu'l-'Ankabút (xxix) 49; and other passages.

Muhammad at first only a 'warner'

endeavouring by persuasion, and threats of future punishment, to win his countrymen from idolatry back to the primitive Faith of Abraham[1] But when, at Madína, he began to feel his position and authority more secure, and when he found that his exhortations were ridiculed by his own people, and his claims to be God's Prophet rejected by the Jews and Christians, he dropped the humbler rôle of 'warner' and adopted that of a warrior-prophet, and scrupled not to use any means or weapons to brush aside all opposition to his authority, and to the achievement of his aim, which was to bring all Arabia under the sway of Islám, and subject to him as its divinely-commissioned Prophet. In Súras of the Madína period Muḥammad in the same breath inculcates faith and obedience to himself as well as to God. 'Obey God and His Apostle' is the usual phrase now used by him.[2]

Then a warrior-prophet aiming to make all Arabia subject to him and Islam

We shall now proceed to inquire what are the essential elements in the Faith of Islám, and to what sources they may be traced.

The Faith of Islám consists of six Articles,[3] which are inculcated in many parts of the Qur'án. Five of these Articles are mentioned in Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 135

Articles of the Islamic Faith

'Whosoever believeth not on God and His Angels and His Books and His Apostles, and in the Last Day, he verily hath erred with far-gone error.'

[1] Súratu'n-Naḥl (xvi) 121, 124; Súratu'l-Ḥajj (xxii) 77. Muḥammad did not pretend to preach a new religion; *vide* Snouck Hurgronje's *Mohammedanism*, p. 40. Kuenen's argument against this, that Muḥammad only adopted this rôle in the later Súras, is not convincing; *vide* p. 6, note 2.

[2] Súratu'l-Aḥzáb (xxxiii) 70; Súratu Muḥammad (xlvii) 35; Súratu'l-Fatḥ (xlviii) 9, 13, 17 Súratu'l-Ḥujurát (xlix) 14, 15; Súratu'l-Ḥadíd (lvii) 7, 18; Súratu'l-Mujádala (lviii) 5; Súratu't-Taghábun (lxiv) 8, 12; etc.

[3] The above Articles of Belief are rigidly held by all classes of Muslims at the present day, as the writer has frequently verified by his intercourse with this class of the community, among whom he works.

The sixth dogma of Predestination, or God's eternal decree, is laid down in many passages of the Qur'án, such as 'God guideth whom He pleaseth into the Straight Path,'[1] and 'God misleadeth whom He will.'[2]

The six Articles, therefore, which comprise the Faith, as distinct from the Practice, of Islám are

1. Belief in the Unity of God.
2. Belief in the Angels.
3. Belief in the Books.
4. Belief in the Prophets.
5. Belief in the Day of Judgment, including Heaven and Hell; and,
6. Belief in Predestination, or God's eternal decree.

We shall examine these Articles of Belief separately, and inquire at the same time into their sources.

[1] Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 209.

[2] Súratu Ibráhím (xiv) 4; *vide* also Súratu'l-A'ráf (vii) 177, 178; Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 24; Súratu'n-Naḥl (xvi) 38, 39; Súratu'l-Ḥajj (xxii) 16, 19; Súratu'l-Qaṣaṣ (xxviii) 56, 68 Súratu'sh-Shúrá (xlii) 6; and many other passages.

CHAPTER III

THE UNITY OF GOD

He is God alone ;
God the eternal !
He begetteth not,
And is not begotten ;
And there is none like unto Him.[1]

The doctrine of the Divine Unity is the cardinal dogma of Islám. It is the keyword to the whole system, the foundation on which its superstructure rests. Lá-iláha Il-lalláhu, 'there is no God but God,' is the first and chief part of the Islámic Creed,[2] and is the twice-repeated cry of the Mu'adhdhin,[3] which we may hear from mosque or minaret when he daily summons the faithful to prayer. Again and again is this dogma reiterated in the Qur'án, and the frequency of its utterance, coupled with the passionate denunciations which Muḥammad hurled against those who gave 'partners' to God, reveal the intensity of his belief in this doctrine. The dogma, indeed, possessed him and became the corner-stone in his system.

The Unity of God is the cardinal doctrine of Islam

From whence did Muḥammad obtain this idea of God's Unity? How did it arise in his mind? Was he the first to introduce it among the Arabs? To this last question we can give a decided negative.

From whence did Muḥammad obtain this doctrine?

[1] Súratu'l-Ikhlás (cxii).
[2] The rest of the Kalima, or Muslim Creed, is, Muḥammad-Rasúlu'lláh, 'and Muḥammad is the Apostle of God.' The writer has frequently heard Muslims repeating the symbol in his discussions with them.
[3] The Muslim crier or caller to prayer he proclaims the Adhán, or summons to prayer.

The Monotheistic idea was not new to the Arabs,[1] and it was in harmony with the traditional belief in their Semitic origin.

Not new to the Arabs

There can be little doubt that the original worship of the Shemites was that of the One True God;[2] and although the people in Muḥammad's time had departed from their primitive faith, and had fallen into polytheism and idolatry,[3] there is evidence to show that their original belief in the Unity of God had not entirely faded from their minds.

The original belief of the Shemites; and, along with idolatry, still existed among the Arabs; as shown by

We have seen in chapter i (p. 8), that the Arabs associated with the worship of their minor deities that also of Alláh Ta'ála', 'God Most High'; and although their idea of Him had become materialized, as shown by the nature of their votive offerings paid to Him along with their tribal gods, He was to them still the Chief Supreme God in their national Pantheon. Their other deities were regarded as inferior and subordinate to this Supreme Deity, and worshipped only as intercessors with Him.

1. Their worship of Allah Ta'ala'

Moreover, it was by Alláh the Arabs swore when occasion arose for taking an oath to confirm any agreement.

2. Their custom of swearing by Allah

And etymologically, also, Alláh, which is made up of *al*, the definite article, and *Iláh*, 'God,' means *The* Supreme Being, and is the exact equivalent of ὁ θεός in Greek. The word, indeed, seems to be the translation in Arabic of the

3. The etymology of Allah

[1] *Vide* Palmer's *Qur'án*, pp. xlix, lxvi. The Arabic writer, Ash-Shahristání, confirms this view; and Sir Sayyid Aḥmad bears similar testimony in his *Essay on the Religions of the pre-Islámic Arabs*, pp. 5, 14. J. M. Arnold says, 'The Arabs had proceeded from *a more or less pure Monotheism to actual idolatry*' (*Islám*, p. 21).

[2] Dr. Dods, in his *Muḥammad, Buddha and Christ*, p. 10, says that Muḥammad's idea of God was the Semitic idea; see also Tisdall's *Sources*, p. 31; Renan also supports this view (*Hist. gen. et sys. com. des Lan. Sem.*, liv. i. ch. 1).

[3] Ibn Isḥáq and Ibn Hishám state that idolatry had been introduced among the Arabs at a comparatively short period before the rise of Islám.

Hebrew word אֵל el, for God. The Urdu and Persian equivalent used is ख़ुदा Khudá, the self-existing one, which is derived from the Persian ख़ुद् Khud, meaning self.

4. The testimony of Herodotus

It was, doubtless, to this Supreme Being that Herodotus,[1] when speaking of the two chief deities worshipped by the Arabs, referred under the name of 'Οροτάλ, which appears to be a corruption of Alláh Ta'ála', 'God Most High.'

5. Of pre-Islamic poetry

The word Alláh is also frequently used in Arabic poetry[2] which has come down to us from pre-Islámic times.

6. From nomenclature in use among the Arabs

The nomenclature in vogue among the Arabs in, and before, Muḥammad's time, as regards proper names and names of places, also evidences the supremacy and oneness of Alláh. Muḥammad's own father was called 'Abdu'lláh, which means a 'servant of Alláh,' and the Ka'ba from time immemorial was called Beitu'lláh, or 'House of Alláh,' which is the equivalent of the Hebrew בֵּית־אֵל *Beth-el*, or 'House of God.'[3]

7. Mode of addressing God, in Ihlal ceremony

Ibn Isḥáq states that the Quraish, Muḥammad's own tribe, when performing the religious ceremony called Ihlál, used these words when addressing the Deity 'Labbaika, Alláhumma! We are present in Thy service, O God;

[1] Herodotus, Book III, Chap. 8 "*Σέβονται δὲ 'Αράβιοι πίστις ἀνθρώπων ὁμοῖα τοῖσι μάλιστα. Διόνυσον δὲ θεὸν μοῦνον καὶ τὴν Οὐρανίην ἡγεῦνται εἶναι . ὀνομάζουσι δὲ τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον 'Οροτάλ, τὴν δὲ Οὐρανίην 'Αλιλάτ.*"

Professor D. S. Margoliouth has pointed out that he thinks this identification of 'Οροτάλ with Alláh Ta'ála' is not probable. But several authorities (e.g. Pococke, Tisdall, Muir, Arnold and others) agree with the view stated in the text.

[2] In the collection called Mu'allaqát the word Alláh frequently occurs.

[3] The word God in the Hebrew expression has not the definite article, which the Arabic expression has; *vide* Sayyid Aḥmad's *Essay on History of Mecca*, p. 6. So far as is known, it was the Ka'ba which Diodorus Siculus (B.C. 60) referred to in his Book iii, as possessing a shrine greatly venerated by the Arabs.

we are present in Thy service. Thou hast no partner, except such partner as Thou hast; Thou ownest him and whatsoever he owneth.'[1] This early Arabic writer affirms that this mode of addressing God implies a belief in His Unity.

8. And the readiness of Quraish to worship Allah when Muhammad lapsed

Finally, the readiness with which the Quraish prostrated themselves in the worship of Alláh, when Muḥammad temporarily lapsed[2] from the strictness and purity of his Faith, and agreed to acknowledge their minor deities as intercessors with Alláh, is further evidence that the idea of the One Supreme God was not unfamiliar to them.

While, therefore, the various Arab tribes had their various tribal deities—the Ka'ba possessing three hundred and sixty such gods—Alláh, '*The* God,' was regarded and worshipped by them as *The* Supreme Being, and their other gods were regarded as inferior and subordinate to Him, and were worshipped only as intercessors with Him.

The source of the Islamic doctrine of God's Unity lies in the Semitic idea of God's Oneness

The original source of the Islámic doctrine of the Divine Unity lies, therefore, in the Semitic idea of the Oneness of God, which was the ancient traditional belief of the Arabs, and, though largely dormant, was never really lost by them, and which some of the more thoughtful and religiously inclined among them sedulously followed.

Chief among these latter was a band[3] of four Quraish 'Inquirers,' called Ḥanífs,[4] who rejected the idolatry

[1] Quoted by Ibn Hishâm in his *Síratu'r-Rasúl*, Egyptian ed., Part I, pp. 27, 28.

[2] Although the lapse is not mentioned in the Qur'án, as we now possess it, and some authorities reject the story or gloss it over (*e.g.* G͟hazálí), we have the narratives of Wá-qidí and Ṭabarí, two of the most reliable biographers of Muḥammad, that it actually happened.

[3] Ibn Hishám, quoting Ibn Isḥáq whose works have come down to us chiefly in quotations by the former, gives an account of this band in his *Biography of the Apostle* (*Síratu'r-Rasúl*), vol. I, pp. 76, 77.

[4] The word 'Ḥaníf,' which in Arabic came to signify 'impiety' in abandoning idol-worship, was at first used as a term of reproach

of the Ka'ba, and asserted that they were followers of the Faith of Abraham. Two of these, 'Uthmán ibnu'l-Ḥuwairith and Waraqa ibn Asad, were cousins of Muḥammad's wife Khadíja, and are said to have become converts to Christianity, and to have been acquainted with the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. The third was 'Ubaidu'lláh ibn Jaḥsh who, after embracing Islám, also became a Christian on emigrating to Abyssinia. The fourth was the aged Zaid ibn 'Amr, who reproved the Meccans for their idolatry, and asserted that he followed the 'Religion of Abraham.' He ultimately retired to live in a cave on Mount Ḥirá, where he lived to a great age and died, it is said, in A.D. 612, only a few years before Muḥammad assumed the prophetic office.

Four 'Inquirers,' called 'Hanifs'

During Muḥammad's periods of retirement to Mount Ḥirá for meditation, as was his custom every year,[1] he would frequently come into contact with the aged Zaid, and by his intercourse with him, as well as with the other 'Reformers' who were his own relatives, he would have ample opportunity of becoming acquainted with their teaching. Indeed, we can scarcely exaggerate the influence which Ḥanífism had upon Muḥammad during the nascent stage of Islám. Besides their great dogma of God's Unity, and their rejection of idolatry, which were in harmony with Muḥammad's own belief, and would

Their tenets known to Muhammad

and confirmed his belief in God's Unity

towards the reformers. According to Ibn Hishám, the word for Ḥaníſism, in pronunciation, became confounded with the word denoting 'purity'; and it was probably for this reason that these Reformers or 'Ḥaníſs' adopted it, to express their rejection of idolatry, and their return to the 'purity' of the 'Religion of Abraham.' Kuenen (*Hibbert Lectures*, 1882, pp. 19-22, and App. n. 2) contests the idea that the term 'hanyf' had, originally, an unfavourable signification.

[1] Ibn Isḥáq says that in 'the days of Ignorance' the Quraish were accustomed to retire to Mount Ḥirá every year during the month of Ramaḍán, for penance; *Síratu'r-Rasúl*, vol. i, pp. 80, 81. There is no doubt that it was owing to this custom that Muḥammad appointed this month of Ramaḍán as a time of abstinence for his followers.

doubtless strengthen and confirm it, practically all the chief points in the teaching of these 'Reformers' are to be found also in the Qur'án.[1] Sprenger says, 'Muḥammad openly acknowledged Zaid as his precursor, and every word known as Zaid's we find again in the Qur'án.'[2]

Moreover, Abraham is referred to in the Qur'án as a Ḥaníf,[3] the name by which these 'Reformers' called themselves, and in several passages the Qur'án exhorts men to become Ḥanífs by following the 'Faith of Abraham.'[4] Muḥammad himself is commanded to 'follow the religion of Abraham, the Ḥaníf,' who did not 'join gods with God.'[5]

In fact Muḥammad at first adopted the name 'Ḥanífism' for his religion, which he afterwards changed to Islám.

Sir Sayyid Aḥmad, in his work on the pre-Islámic Arabs, refers to the Ḥanífs as one of the 'four theistic sects existing in Arabia before Islám . . , namely, the Ṣábians, the Ḥanífs, the Jews and the Christians.' He also speaks of 'two classes of theistic Arabs in the times of ignorance.'[6]

Hanifism is one of the Sources of Islam

In view, therefore, of these facts concerning Muḥammad's relations with the Ḥanífs, and bearing in mind that the main points in their teaching have been incorporated into the Qur'án by Muḥammad, we must regard

[1] e.g. the prohibition against burying infant daughters alive; the happiness of believers in the 'Garden' of Paradise: the punishment of the wicked in hell: the names applied to God.

[2] For instance, in Súratu Ali 'Imrán (iii) 19, Muḥammad asks, 'Have ye become Muslims?' or 'Have ye surrendered to God?' These words are said by Ibn Isḥáq to have been first used by Zaid in addressing the people.

[3] Súratu Ali 'Imrán (iii) 89 ; Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 124 ; Súratu'l-An'ám (vi) 162 ; Súratu'n-Naḥl (xvi) 121. The expression, 'sound in the faith,' in these passages, and in those referred to in notes 4 and 5, means in Arabic 'a Ḥaníf.'

[4] Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 129 ; Súratu'l-Ḥajj (xxii) 32, 77 Súratu'r-Rúm (xxx) 29.

[5] Súratu'n-Naḥl (xvi) 124.

[6] *Maroam al-Arab qabl al-Islam*, pp. 222, 228.

Ḥanífism, or the dogmas of these Arabian 'Reformers, as one of the Sources of Islám.

We have seen above that the original source of the Islámic doctrine of the Divine Unity lies in the Semitic idea of the oneness of God. This conclusion derives support from the testimony of several Arabic writers (Ibn Isháq, Ibn Hishám and others), who affirm that the original worship of the Arabs, and especially those who claimed descent from Ishmael, was that of the one true God.

Arab writers state that the original worship of the Arabs was that of the One True God

It must be admitted, however, that this idea of Alláh as *The* Supreme Being, exalted above their minor deities, had little religious or moral significance to the Arabs, whose lives were not regulated in accordance with His essential attributes of righteousness and purity. But it cannot be denied that this monotheistic idea was not Muḥammad's own conception, for the Arabs possessed it long before the rise of Islám, and all that Muḥammad did was to recall it vividly to the minds of the people, and ultimately enforce it upon them with the sword.

But the idea of God's Unity had little significance to the Arabs

Another factor, which, doubtless, strengthened Muḥammad's belief in this great dogma, was his intercourse with Jews and Christians, and the knowledge, though inaccurate and distorted, which he thus gained of their religious systems. We have seen that there were many Jewish tribes and Christians in Arabia.[1] One of Muḥammad's wives, Ṣafíyya, was a Jewess, as was also his concubine, Raihána. Another concubine, Mary the Copt, was a Christian. There were also some Christian slaves at Mecca. Intercourse with all these people would tend to deepen Muḥammad's belief in the Unity of God.

Muhammad's belief in God's Unity was strengthened by his intercourse with Jews and Christians

Muḥammad's knowledge of the *Talmud*,[2] or of Jewish traditions based upon it, would also confirm his belief in

[1] *vide* above, chapter i, pp. 8-10.

[2] *Talmud* (lit. teaching) is the name given to a collection of works by Jewish Rabbis, handed down by tradition, and embodying

the divine unity. His account in Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 127, of what occurred when Jacob, at the point of death, called his sons, and they affirmed their faith in 'One God,' 'The God of Abraham,' is evidently taken from the Rabbinical account of this incident, according to which they say, 'The Lord is our God, and He is One.'[1] The tractate *Berákhóth* (*Jeru. Talmud*, fol. 12 *b*, col. 2), in explaining the use of the plural form אֱלֹהִים *Elohim*, for God, emphasizes the Divine Unity.

The שְׁמַע *Shema'*, or chief formula of the Jewish liturgy, which is recited morning and evening by the Jews, begins with the declaration of God's unity—'Hear O Israel, the Lord our God is One Lord.' The *Talmud*[2] begins with a discussion about this great formula or confession, and the whole of the first chapter deals with it. The first part of the Kalima or Muslim Creed, reiterated in Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 158, 'Your God is One God; there is no God but He,' is very similar to this great confession of the Jews.

the 'oral' or 'unwritten law' in contradistinction to the *Torah* (Pentateuch) or 'Written Law' of Moses.

It consists of two parts, namely, *Mishnáh* and the *Gemára*. The *Mishnáh* (מִשְׁנָה = Instruction) is Rabbi Yehuda's compilation (in A.D. 200 circa) of the rules, regulations, explanations, and traditions, which had grown up among the Jews in reference to the Old Testament Scriptures, since the death of Moses. The *Gemára* (גְּמָר = Supplement) is a commentary upon the *Mishnáh*. There are two *Talmuds*, namely, the *Palestinian*, or *Jerusalem*, *Talmud*, which was completed about the end of the fourth century; and the *Babylonian Talmud*, which was completed in Babylon a century later. The teaching of the *Talmud* was known in Arabia, through the Jews residing there, before the rise of Islám.

[1] *Midrásh* Rabbah on Gen., par. 98, and on Deut., par. 2. The term *Midrásh* (from דָּרַשׁ lit. exposition) means a free exposition or exegesis of Scripture, and is applied to a number of early Rabbinical works of an exegetical and homiletic nature. These Rabbinical expositions are of two kinds, namely, the *Halákhá* which deal with the legal aspect of the Scriptures, and *Haggádá* which refer to expository and homiletic teaching. The *Halákhá* and the *Haggádá* both make up the *Midrásh*.

[2] *Berákhóth*, fols. 2*a*-13*a*.

When a young man, about A.D. 590, Muḥammad visited the annual fair at Ocátz, three days journey from Mecca, and he there came under the spell of the oratory of Coss, the Christian Bishop of Najrán, whose fervent appeals on behalf of the One True God could not but leave a deep and lasting impression upon the religious mind of Muḥammad.

Influence of Coss

There are several other channels or mediums by which Muḥammad obtained his knowledge of Judaism and Christianity, which would tend to deepen his conception of the divine unity. But what has been stated is sufficient to show that the foundation and corner-stone of Islám—the great dogma of the unity of God—was not a new idea to the Arabs, and instead of being introduced to them by Muḥammad, it existed among them from time immemorial, and was the primary source of this Islámic belief.

Conclusion

Finally, the Qur'án itself may be quoted in support of the conclusion here arrived at. In several passages Muḥammad disclaims any intention of preaching, or of founding, a new religion, affirming that his mission was that only of a 'warner'[1] against the day of judgment, and to exhort[2] the people to return to the purity of the ancient faith of their great forefather Abraham, which, he said, was the faith of Adam and Noah, of Moses and Jesus,[3] the faith of the 'Ḥanífs,' which consisted in the worship of the one only and true God. The previous Scriptures which contained this faith, Muḥammad asserted, were confirmed by his 'Qur'ánic revelations,'[4] and, believing implicitly in the heaven-sent nature of these 'Books,' he claimed that his conception of God was the same as that which they revealed. 'Say, I believe in all the Scriptures which God hath revealed; . . God is our Lord and your Lord. There is no difference between us and you.'[5]

The Qur'an quoted in support of this conclusion

[1] *vide* chap. ii, p. 18, n. 3 and p. 19, n. 1. [2] Súratu'sh-Shúrá (xlii) 12, 14. [3] Súratu'sh-Shúrá (xlii) 11. [4] Súratu Yúnas (x) 38. [5] Súratu'sh-Shúrá (xlii) 14.

From these passages of the Qur'án, Muḥammad's own assertions, we may, therefore, conclude that the doctrine of God's unity had its source, not in Muḥammad's own mind, but in earlier beliefs then current in Arabia.

Muhammad's inadequate conception of God

Further, on analysing the Qur'ánic conception of God, we find it lacking in several essential attributes of Deity as revealed in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Muḥammad rightly conceived of God as a sovereign infinitely exalted, omniscient, all-powerful, holy, just, compassionate, and forgiving, and as thus conceived He stood far above, and remote from, men—a God between whom and His worshippers there existed an impassable gulf. But the great truth of the divine fatherhood of God, and of His infinite love in bridging that gulf, and coming near to His worshippers in order to impart to them His own divine power, to enable them to become holy, like Him, in heart and life—these great truths of God were unknown to Muḥammad, and are absent from the teaching of the Qur'án. For, besides Muḥammad's ignorance concerning the Person of the Holy Spirit, and his misconception of the doctrine of the Trinity, which he erroneously believed, or was led to believe, consisted of God, Mary and Jesus,[1] he never understood the significance of the Incarnation, and seemed totally ignorant of the great doctrine of Redemption through the death of Christ. These facts we may regard as another indication that the *primary* source of Muḥammad's idea of God's unity is not to be found in Christianity or Judaism, but, as shown above, in the ancient religious beliefs of his race.

As we have here referred to Muḥammad's conception of God, it may not be out of place, in concluding this

[1] Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 169; Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 77, 116. Ibn Isḥáq points out, and these references also imply, that Muḥammad obtained his erroneous idea of the Trinity from the corrupt teaching of the Christians of his day; *vide* Koelle's *Moḥammed and Moḥammedanism*, p. 136; J. M. Arnold's *Islám*, p. 34.

chapter, to notice the striking similarity which exists between some of the names applied to God in the Qur'án, and those applied to the Supreme Being (Ahurá Mazdá) in the *Avestá.* There are ninety-nine names of God given in the Qur'án, and seventy-five[1] applied to Ahurá Mazdá in the *Avestá*, and on comparing[2] them we cannot but conclude that Muḥammad borrowed some of his names for God from the *Avestá.* We shall see in the succeeding chapters that Muḥammad was indebted to Zoroastrianism for not a little of his Qur'ánic teaching, and as these Avestic names of the Supreme Being would be then current in Arabia, there can be little doubt that they would be known to Muḥammad, and that he imported some of them into the Qur'án, while others he would obtain by contact with Judaism and Christianity.

Similar names applied to God in the Qur'an and the Avesta

We may also note, in conclusion, that the formula, 'In the Name of the Merciful, and Compassionate God,'[3] with which every Súra of the Qur'án, except

[1] There are seventy-five Names of Ahurá Mazdá given in the *Ōrmazd Yast;* Bleeck says, in his translation of the *Avestá*, vol. iii, p. 23, note **, that there should be only seventy-two, which is a sacred number with the Pársís. Educated Pársís, whom I have consulted, confirm this. The कस्ती Kasti, or Sacred Cord, worn by the Pársís after the age of seven years, consists of seventy-two threads, to correspond with the Names of Ōrmazd, their Supreme Being.

[2]
Names of God in the Qur'án:	Names of God in the *Avestâ;*
Creator of all things (vi. 102).	Creator (*Ōrmazd Yast*, 8, 13).
The Lord (xli. 30, 46).	Ahurá (the Lord, *Ōrmazd Yast*, 8).
The Knowing (xli. 36 ; xv. 25).	Mazdau (the All-Knowing, *Ōrmazd Yast*, 12).
The Seeing (xxii. 60, 74).	The All-Seeing One (*Ōrmazd Yast*, 8, 12).
The Strong (xxii. 41).	The Strong One (*Ōrmazd Yast*, 7).
The Glorious One (xxxiv. 6).	The Glorious (*Ōrmazd Yast*, 12).
The Conquering (xiii. 23).	The Unconquerable One (*Ōrmazd Yast*, 8).
The Wise (v. 42).	The Wise One (*Ōrmazd Yast*, 15).
The Swift Reckoner (v. 6).	He Who makes the true account (*Ōrmazd Yast*, 8).
The Great (xxxi. 29).	The Great One (*Ōrmazd Yast*, 15).

[3] Called by Muslims the *Bismillah.*

Zoroastrian origin of formula, 'In the Name of the Merciful and Compassionate God'

the Ninth, begins, seems also to have been taken from Zoroastrianism. In an old Zoroastrian work entitled the *Dasâtîr i Âsmânî*, which consists of fifteen tractates, the *second* verse of each tractate has the formula: 'In the Name of God, the Giver, the Forgiver, the Merciful, the Just.' The *Bûndahishnîh* has the similar phrase, 'In the Name of Ōrmazd, the Creator.' The Jews, it is true, also used the form, 'In the Name of the Lord', or 'In the Name of the Great God' and Rodwell holds that the Qur'ánic formula is of Jewish origin.[1] But it is more probably of Persian origin, and Sale and Palmer believe that Muḥammad borrowed it from the Persian Magi who used to begin their books with the words, 'In the Name of the Most Merciful, Just God.'[2]

[1] The *Koran*, p. 19, n. 2.

[2] Sale's *Koran*, Prel. Disc., p. 45: Palmer's *Qur'án*, p. lxviii. Personal inquiries of Pársí friends in India confirm the opinion stated in the text.

CHAPTER IV

THE ANGELS

'THEY PRAISE HIM DAY AND NIGHT
THEY REST NOT.'[1]

THE second Article in the Muḥammadan Creed[2] is belief in the existence of the Angels. They are said to have been created of fire,[3] with pure subtle bodies, not subject to hunger or thirst, and without distinction of sex.[4] They are also without sin.[5]

The nature of angels

Their special functions are to celebrate God's praise and obey His behests;[6] they also intercede for men[7] and act as their guardian angels upon the earth.[8]

Their functions

On several occasions[9] Hosts of Angels are said in the Qur'án to have aided Muḥammad and his followers in battle, and to have enabled them to gain the victory over their opponents.

[1] Súratu'l-Anbiyá' (xxi) 20 ; cf. Rev. iv. 8.

[2] The Islámic Creed is generally cited in the short form of the Kalima, 'There is no God but God, and Muḥammad is the Apostle of God.' The word 'Creed' is used here in its usual sense of a body of doctrine, and thus denotes all the Articles in the Faith of Islám.

[3] Súratu'l-A'ráf (vii) 11 ; Súratu Ṣád (xxxviii) 77.

[4] *vide* Muḥammad al-Barkavi. [5] Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 28.

[6] ibid. (ii) 28 ; Súratu'r-R'ad (xiii) 12, 14 ; Súrutu'sh-Shúrá (xlii) 3 ; Súratu'z-Zukhruf (xliii) 18.

[7] Súratu'l-Aḥzáb (xxxiii) 42 ; Súratu'l-Mu'min (xl) 7 Súratu Yúsuf (xii) 3.

[8] Súratu'l-An'ám (vi) 61 ; Súratu'r-Ra'd (xiii) 12 ; Súratu'l-Infiṭár (lxxxii) 10.

[9] In the battle of Badr (A.H. 2), Muḥammad with only 319 followers defeated 1,000 Meccans ; Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 11 ; Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 9.

Eight Angels are said to support God's Throne.[1] There are two 'Illustrious Recorders'[2] who attend each individual, one on his right hand and the other on his left, and who, besides acting as guardian angels, also write down all his words and actions.

Two 'Recorders'

There are also two 'Testers,' called Munkar and Nakír, black angels who visit every man in his grave immediately after death, and examine him with regard to his faith in Islám.[3] If his answers are satisfactory he will be allowed to sleep on in peace; but if he does not believe in God's Apostle, these angels beat him with an iron instrument, and his cries, it is said, can be heard by all near his tomb, except men and Jinn.[4]

Two 'Testers'

Two attendants, a 'driver' and a 'witness,' at the Judgment Day

Two Angels are also said to attend every soul at the Judgement Day, one to drive it along and the other to witness against it.[5]

[1] Súratu'l-Ḥaqqa (lxix) 17; Súratu'l-Mu'min (xl) 7. The idea in these passages of the angels 'encircling' God's Throne seems to have been borrowed from Isaiah (vi. 1) and Ezekiel (x. 1) and also from Revelation (iv. 6). Isaiah saw them above, and Ezekiel beneath, God's Throne; and John saw them 'round about' the Throne.

[2] Súratu'l-Infiṭár (lxxxii) 11, 12; Súratu'z-Zukhruf (xliii) 80; Súratu'l-Qáf (L) 16, 17.

[3] The 'examination of the sepulchre' by these two angels is expressly taught in Muslim tradition, and indirectly also in the Qur'án. Súratu'l-Mu'min (xl) 11 ('Twice, O our Lord, hast thou given us death, and twice hast thou given us life'), and Súratu Muḥammad (xlvii) 29, are said to refer to the visit of these angels, who restore the corpse to life to answer the questioning in the grave. Al-Ghazálí, discussing the subject in the *Iḥyá' 'ulúmu'd-Dín* (vol. ii. pp. 17-42) says: 'These are two awful and terrible beings who will cause the creature to sit up in his grave, complete, both soul and body; and they will ask him, "Who is thy Lord, and what is thy religion (Din), and who is thy prophet?" They are the two Testers in the grave, and their questioning is the first testing after death;' *vide* MacDonald's *Muslim Theology*, p. 305. This belief is general among Muslims to the present day, whose graves are made with sufficient space for the corpse to sit up during the examination.

[4] Bukhári, whose traditions are generally considered historically accurate, records a tradition to the effect that Muḥammad said that he heard the cries of the infidels in their graves, when passing through a cemetery, and his camel was frightened by their groans.

[5] Súratu'l-Qáf (L) 20; literally *a driver and a witness*.

Ridwan and Malik

Riḍwán is the guardian angel of Paradise, and Málik is the chief of the nineteen angels who have charge of Hell.[1]

Four Archangels

There are four Archangels, viz. Gabriel,[2] the Messenger of God, called also in the Qur'án, and perhaps confounded with, the Holy Spirit; Michael,[3] the Protector of the Jews; 'Azrá'íl, the Angel of Death;[4] and Isráfíl,[5] who will sound the trumpet on the Day of Judgement.

Iblis

There is also Iblís, the Devil, who was once an angel in Heaven, but who fell for refusing, at God's command, to adore Adam, on the ground that he, having been made of fire, was nobler than Adam who was only created of clay.[6]

Two angels are also mentioned in the Qur'án by the names of Hárút and Márút, who taught men sorcery at

[1] Súratu'z-Zukhruf (xliii) 77; Súratu'l-Muddaththir (lxxiv) 30.

[2] The angel Gabriel is mentioned by name in only two passages of the Qur'án, *viz.*, Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 91, 92, and Súratu't-Taḥrím (lxvi) 4. But he is referred to in Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 81, 254; and in Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 109; and in Súratu'n-Naḥl (xvi) 104, under the name of 'Holy Spirit' (Rúḥu'l-Quds). Muḥammad, either ignorantly or wilfully, confounded Gabriel with the Holy Spirit, as the two names are used synonymously in the Qur'án. Gabriel is also referred to in Súratu'sh-Shu'ará' (xxvi) 193, as 'Faithful Spirit' (Rúḥu'l-Amín); and in Súratu'n-Najm (liii) 5, as 'One terrible in power' (Shadídu'l-Qawá); and in Súratu't-Takwír (lxxxi) 19, as an 'Illustrious Messenger' (Rasu'l Karím); cf. xix. 17; iii. 40. The Qur'ánic idea that Gabriel is the Holy Spirit was not a strange one to the Jewish Rabbis, who interpreted the words רוּחַ הַבְּקָנִית *clearly-speaking Spirit*, to be Gabriel (*Sanhedrīn* 44); *vide* Geiger, *Was hat Mohammad aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen*, p. 82.

[3] Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 92.

[4] Súratu's-Sajda (xxxii) 11; Súratu'l-An'ám (vi) 61; Súratu'l-A'ráf (vii) 35; Súratu Muḥammad (xlvii) 29.

[5] Barkavi; *vide* Sell's *Faith of Islám*, pp. 226-27. There is a tradition given by Abú Huraira that the Prophet said: 'After the creation of the heavens and the earth, God created the trumpet and gave it to Isráfíl, who, with his mouth placed to it, is ever looking up and waiting for the order to blow it.' Súratu'z-Zumar (xxxix) 68; Súratu'n-Názi'át (lxxix) 6, 7.

[6] Súratu'l-A'ráf (vii) 10, 11; Súratu'l-Ḥijr (xv) 33; Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 32; Súratu Bani Isrá'íl (xvii) 63; Súratu'l-Kahf (xviii) 48; Súratu Ṭá Há (xx) 115.

Harut and Marut

Babel.[1] These, according to Muslim tradition,[2] were allowed by God to visit the earth, endued with the same desires as men, in order to test their fidelity to God, and having fallen they were punished by being suspended head downwards in a well at Babylon.

The Jinn, or Genii

There is another order of beings called Jinn,[3] or Genii, who are said to have been created of fire, like the angels, but differing from them in the procreation of their species, and in being subject to hunger and thirst, and also death. To the Jinn as well as to men was Muḥammad sent as a 'warner,' and some of them acknowledged his commission and became obedient to the Faith of Islám.[4]

Included in Muhammad's commission

Created before Adam; subject to Solomon; excluded from Heaven

They are supposed to have been created long before the creation of Adam, and ultimately became subject to Solomon.[5] Excluded from Heaven, they frequent the confines of the lowest heaven, and, with Iblís and other fallen angels, attempt to 'steal a hearing'[6] by listening to God's commands given to the angels. The shooting stars are said to be hurled at them in order to drive them away.[7]

Unbelieving Jinn cast into hell

The unbelieving Jinn, under whom Muḥammad comprehended the Devil[8] and his angels, will be punished for ever in Hell: but the believing Jinn, it is held, will be converted into dust,

[1] Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 96.

[2] The legend is given in the *'Aráisu'l-Majális*, to explain Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 96. The tradition is vouched for by many authorities, and is accepted by Muslims as having come down from Muḥammad; *vide* Tisdall's *Sources of the Qur'án*, pp. 93-96.

[3] Súratu'l-Ḥijr (xv) 27; Súratu'r-Raḥmán (lv) 14. According to tradition there are five distinct orders of Jinn, namely Jánn, Jinn, Shaitán, 'Ifrít, and Márid.

[4] Súratu'l-Aḥqáf (xlvi) 28, 29; Súratu'l-Jinn, (lxxii) 1, 2, 13, 14, 19.

[5] Súratu Ṣád (xxxviii) 36.

[6] Súratu'l-Ḥijr (xv) 18; Súratu's-Ṣáffát, (xxxvii) 8, 10; Súratu'l-Mulk (lxvii) 5; Súratu'l-Jinn (lxxii) 9; *vide* this whole Súra (lxxii) entitled *Jinn*.

[7] *vide* references under 6.

[8] Súratu'l-Kahf (xviii) 48.

like the animals; some, however, say that they will be allowed a certain amount of happiness near, but not actually inside, Paradise.

Such is the general outline of the Angelism and Demonology as taught in the Qur'án and Muslim Tradition.

The source of Muslim Angelism and Demonology

With regard, now, to the source of these beliefs, speaking generally, we may say that they were borrowed directly from the Jews, coloured somewhat by local beliefs and superstitions, and indirectly from the Zoroastrians.

Belief in the Angels, part of the Arab cult; borrowed partly from Persia

Belief in the existence of the angels was one element in the ancient Arab Cult,[1] which the Arabs had partly borrowed from the Persians, and Muḥammad doubtless held the belief in common with them. Palmer says that this belief is traceable to Chaldaea.[2]

The Arabs also believed in the existence of the Jinn, and this belief is also traceable to Persia.[3] The word (in the singular, Jinni) which is used for them in Arabic is also Persian, and comes from the Avestic Jaini, which means a wicked (female) spirit.

The Angelology of the Qur'an borrowed directly from the Jews

But the more specific treatment of the Angelology of the Qur'án was borrowed in the first instance from the Jews, who had obtained it from the Zoroastrians.

The Jews believed that the angels were created of fire[4] (an idea which they might have got from the

[1] *vide* Palmer's *Qur'án*, vol. i, Introduction, p. lxix.

[2] idem, p. xi.

[3] They are referred to in the *Avestá* under the names of demon-gods and goddesses, and *daêvas*. (The use of the word *daêva*, which comes from the Indian word देव *deva*, in common use here for God, indicates an Áryan origin). *Yasna* xix. 1; x. 1; xxix. 4; xxxiv. 5; etc. Rodwell says that Muḥammad derived his doctrine of the Jinn from Persian and Indian mythology; *vide* his *Koran*, p. 185, n. 2.
For meaning and use of the word, *deva* (*daeva*), by Hindus and Pársís, see below, p. 45, n. 2.

[4] *Ḥagígáh*, fol. 14*a* ('every day ministering angels are created from the fiery stream').

104th Psalm),[1] and that they had different functions, *viz.* intercession for men and attendance upon them as guardian angels on the earth.[2] Both these beliefs, we have seen above, Muḥammad incorporated into the Qur'án. The latter idea is also contained in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews: 'Are they not all ministering spirits sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of Salvation.'[3]

Angelic mediation held by Gnostics

The theory of angelic mediation was one of the doctrines propounded by the heretical Gnostic sects in the early centuries of our era.

Malik is similar to the Jews' 'Prince of Hell.' Name is borrowed from the idol Molech

The Jews had also a 'Prince of Hell' similar to the Muḥammadan Málik.[4] This name seems to have been borrowed from the Ammonite idol, Molech or Moloch, the god of fire, to whom human sacrifices were offered by burning. This idol is frequently mentioned in the Old Testament Scriptures, and would be well known to the Jews. The word also, both in Arabic and Hebrew, means 'ruler' or 'king.'

The 'examination of the sepulchre' is a Jewish idea

The 'examination of the sepulchre' after death is also a Jewish idea. It was believed by the Jews that the Angel of death examines every departed soul in the tomb, except those who died on the evening of the Sabbath, or who had lived in the land of Israel.[5]

Guardian angel of Paradise mentioned in Talmud and Avesta

There is also mentioned in the *Talmud* a guardian angel of Paradise, corresponding to the Muslim Riḍwán, and in the *Avestá* there is a door-keeper of Paradise named Vohu-Manó.[6]

[1] Psalm civ. 4; cf. Hebrews i. 7.

[2] *Ḥagígáh*, fol. 14*b* ('ministering angels accompany us'); *vide* also *Berakhôth* (*Jeru. Tal.*) fol. 14*a*, col. 2 ('The angels who accompany men'). [3] Hebrews i. 14.

[4] He is called by the Rabbis שׂר של גיהנם. (*Ōthiōth*, Rabbi 'Aqíbá, viii, i); and Málik in Mu. tradition (*Mishkát*, Bab *Ṣifatu'n Nár wa Ahlihá*, sect., ii.).

[5] R. Elias, in *Tishbi*.

[6] *Vendídád*, *Farg*., xix. 31 (102).

Names and functions of the four Archangels obtained from the Jews

The names and offices of the four Archangels were also obtained from the Jews. Two of these names occur in the Old Testament Scriptures, viz. Gabriel, the Angel of Revelation;[1] and Michael, the Protector of the Jews.[2] 'Azrá'íl is the name given by Muslims to the Angel of Death, to whom the Jews give the name of Sammáél. As neither of these names occurs in the Bible,[3] both the Jewish and Muslim accounts given of this angel, which bear a marked resemblance to each other, were most probably derived from Persia.

The Avestic Asto-Vidhotus, or Angel of Death

In the *Avestá* there is an angel called Astó-Vídhótus[4] or Vídhátus, the 'bone-divider,' through whose agency the soul, at death, is parted from the body, when the bad Vaya[5] carries

[1] Daniel viii. 16; ix. 21; cf. Luke i. 19, 26. It was probably because Gabriel was thus referred to in 'the Books' that Muḥammad said that he was the angel sent to him by God to reveal the Qur'án.

[2] Daniel xii. 1.

[3] The name 'Azáél (עֲזָאֵל) occurs in *Midrásh Yalkút* (ch. xliv) as one of the two angels in the cognate story of Hárút and Márút, who were sent from heaven to test their fidelity when dwelling among men. See below, p. 40, n. 2, and p. 46, n. 3.

[4] *Vendídad, Farg.*, v. 8 (25), 9 (31). Darmesteter says that the 'mythical descriptions' of Astó-Vídhótus 'might probably be completed by the Rabbinical and Arabian tales about the Breaking of the Sepulchre and the angels Munkar and Nakír.' *The Zend-Avestá*, vol. i. Intro. p. lxviii. n. 2. In the above reference (*Farg.*, v. 8, 9), Ahurá Mazdá teaches that neither water nor fire kills a man, as these elements come from God and belong to the holy part of the world. 'Nothing whatever that I created in the world, said Ōrmazd, does harm to man; it is the bad Vái (see next note) that kills the man.'

[5] *Vend.*, *idem.* 'Váya' is the name given to the atmosphere in Indo-Iranian mythology, and also to the god who fights and conquers therein.

In the Avestan Mythology, Váyu is the place where the two opposing deities or principles of good and evil, viz. Ōrmazd and Ahriman, meet and hence there arose the idea of a void space, Vái between them, in which their meeting took place. Then, later, came the idea of two Vái, a good and a bad one; and, ultimately, by its relation to the heavens whose movements imply destiny, Váyu became the good Fate and the bad Fate. The word Váyu (वायु) is used at present in Indian dialects (1) for air or atmosphere, which points to the connexion that once existed between the Áryan and Semitic races; and (2) for the wind personified as a deity.

it off. Closely related to Astó-Vídhótus is the fiend Vízaresha, who carries off in bonds the souls of the wicked.[1]

The Muslim idea of the Angel of Death was, therefore, most probably obtained from Magian sources, through the medium of the Jews.[2]

The spurious 'Gospel of Barnabas' mentions the four Archangels

The apocryphal *Gospel of Barnabas* contains a description of the functions of these Archangels similar to that contained in the Qur'án, but as this work is a manifest forgery, and was evidently written, long after Muḥammad's time, by a Christian convert to Islám, it cannot be regarded as one of the Sources of the Islámic Faith.[3]

'The Book of Enoch' mentions six Archangels

In the apocryphal *Book of Enoch*[4] the names of six Archangels are given, viz. Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel, Raguel, Michael and Sarakiel. Hughes, in his *Notes* (p. 80), says that this is 'an additional proof that when Muḥammad availed himself of Jewish traditions, he quoted or adopted them with the same want of accuracy as when he appealed to the Divine Word of God.'

The story of the fall of Iblis bears marks of a Christian origin

The Qur'ánic story of the fall of Iblís or Satan bears marks of a Christian origin. Muḥammad evidently conceived his erroneous idea of the fall of Iblís, by mistaking the reference in Hebrews[5] to the angels worshipping the First-begotten, as applying to Adam instead of to Christ.

[1] *Vendídád*, xix. 29 (94).

[2] The *Talmud* frequently refers to the Angel of Death ; *vide Kethubôth*, fol. 77, col. 2 ; *Baba Metzia*, fol. 86, col. 1 ; *Baba Kama*, fol. 50, col. 2 ; *Baba Bathra*, fol. 17*a*.

[3] This Gospel contains a complete history of the life of Jesus Christ, but many of the events are made to favour Islám. Muḥammad is also foretold in it by name as the coming prophet who would perfect the dispensation of Jesus. It also gives Muḥammad the title of Messiah, which is given by Muḥammad in the Qur'án only to Jesus. There can be no doubt that the work is spurious.

[4] *The Book of Enoch*, translated by Archbishop Lawrence, chap. xx.

[5] Hebrews i. 6.

All the Súras[1] in which references to the fall of Iblís occur, except one (the seventh, which is probably a late Meccan one), belong to the middle Meccan period, the fifth and sixth year of his mission, when Muḥammad was in friendly intercourse with the Christians. Moreover, the name, Iblís (Διάβολος), which is used in the Qur'án, is the one also used by Christians, and not the general Hebrew one, Satan (שָׂטָן).[2]

The Talmud speaks of the angels doing honour to Adam

The *Talmud* (*vide ante*, p. 27, n. 2) also speaks of the angels doing honour to Adam: 'Adam sat in the garden, and the angels brought him flesh and cooling wine.'[3]

The idea of 'a driver' and a 'witness' is from 'The Testament of Abraham'

The idea of a 'driver' and a 'witness' attending every soul at the Judgement Day is taken from an apocryphal work, called *The Testament of Abraham*[4] in which it is said that Abraham sees two fierce angels dragging the souls before the Judge for trial. The *Talmud* also refers to the two angels witnessing against a man at the Judgement: 'The two angels of the ministry, which lead him, witness against him' (*Ḥagígáh*, fol. 16*a*). From *The Testament of Abraham* comes the idea of the two recording angels[5] mentioned in the Qur'án who attend every man, one on his right hand and the other on his left, to note down his every word and action.[6] This work (*The Testament of Abraham*) is of great antiquity, and will be referred to more particularly in chapter vi.[7]

[1] Súratu'l-Ḥijr (xv) 28-44; Súratu Bani Isrá'íl (xvii) 63-65, Súratu'l-Kahf (xviii) 48; Súratu Ṭá Há (xx) 115; Súratu Ṣád (xxxviii) 71-86; Súratu'l-A'ráf (vii) 10-18. The legend is referred to in the *Midrásh* of Rabbi Moses.

[2] Rodwell (*Koran*, p. 341, n. 3) says: 'It is possible that the Arabic word 'balas,' a wicked person, may have influenced Muḥammad in the formation of the word Eblis.'

[3] Tr. *Abôth*, chap. i. (*Gemára*); cf. *Sanhedrín*, fol. 29.

[4] *The Testament of Abraham*, p. 90.

[5] *vide ante*, p. 34.

[6] *The Testament of Abraham*, p. 91.

[7] P. 84.

With regard to the Jinn or demons, the *Talmud* contains many references to them. The second *Targum* (or Chaldee version of the Old Testament) on Esther i, ii, mentions the four classes of Demons which were given into the power of King Solomon.[1]

The Jinn or Demons mentioned in second Targum on Esther, 'given into the hand' of Solomon

They are said to 'listen from behind a curtain in order to obtain a knowledge of future events.[2]

They 'listen from behind a curtain'

In three things they are said to resemble angels, and in three to be like men. 'They have wings like angels: like angels they fly, and they know the future as angels do, with this difference, that *they learn by listening behind the veil what angels have revealed to them within*. In three respects they resemble men. They eat and drink like men, they beget and increase like men and like men they die.'[3]

In three things they resemble angels and in three they are like men

The legend of Hárút and Márút as related in the Qur'án and Traditions has its counterpart in Jewish tradition, and was evidently borrowed by Muḥammad from the Jews,[4] although, as we shall see presently, the story is of composite origin.

The legend of Harut and Marut in the Midrash

But tracing the source of the Angelism and Demonology of the Qur'án further back, we find that the ancient Zoroastrians believed in the ministry of angels, and their sacred Book, the *Avestá*, is full of references to them[5]—either celestial (known as *Amesha-Speñtas*), or of the waters,[6] or of the air.[7] They are spoken of under

The Zoroastrians believed in the ministry of angels

[1] The *Babylonian Talmud* interprets the last seven words in Ecclesiastes ii. 8 (*musical instruments, and that of all sorts*) to signify 'male demons and female demons.'

[2] *Ḥagîgáh*, fol. 16*a*. Cf. Qur'án, Súratu'l-Ḥijr (xv) 18; Súratu'ṣ Ṣáffát (xxxvii) 8; Súratu'l-Mulk (lxvii) 5.

[3] *Ḥagîgáh*, fol. 16*a*.

[4] It is contained in the *Midrásh Yalkút*, chap. xliv.

[5] *Yast* ii. contains invocations and sacrifices to them.

[6] *Sîrôzah* ii. 10; *Ōrmazd Yast*, 21; the whole of the *Ábáṇ Yast* (v) is devoted to 'Ardvi Súra Anáhita, the great goddess of the waters.

[7] *Sîrôzah* ii. 22, 27.

Avestan references to angels

different names, but with similar functions to those mentioned by the Jews, and referred to in the Qur'án or Muslim traditions they give their names also to the days of the month.[1]

Nairyo-Sangha, Ahura Mazda's Messenger

Sraosha, the Angel of Obedience

In the *Vendídáh* [*Farg.* xxii. 7 (22)], Nairyó-Sangha,[2] which is a form of Âdhar (Âtar), the Angel of Fire, corresponding to the Muslim Málik, is the Messenger or Herald of the good deity, Ahurá Mazdá, and would correspond to Gabriel, the Angel of Revelation. But later Pársí mythology ascribed this office of Messenger to the 'holy, tall-formed, fiend-smiting, world-increasing Sraósha,'[3] the 'best protector of the poor,'[4] the Angel of Obedience.

Asto-Vidhotus, the Angel of Death

The idea of 'Azrá'íl, the Angel of Death, we have noted, was obtained directly from the Jews, but, in its ultimate origin, is most probably Zoroastrian, as corresponding with the Avestic Astó-Vídhótus, 'the bone-divider,' who separates the soul from the body at death.

In the Avesta the six attributes of Ahura Mazda are personified as archangels, in later Parsi mythology

In this connexion we should note from the *Gathas* the *six abstractions or attributes*[5] of the Supreme Being (Ahurá Mazdá), in Zarathuštra's doctrine of God, which later Pársí mythology crystallized or personified into archangels, under the class-name of *Amesha-Speñtas* (*Ameshâspands* in Pahlaví), or

[1] In the *Avestá* the word '*Sírôzah*' means "thirty days," and is the name of a prayer composed of thirty invocations addressed to the several Izeds who preside over the thirty days of the month. Darmesteter says: 'the very idea of the *Sírôzah*, that is to say the attribution of each of the thirty days of the month to certain gods, seems to have been borrowed from the Semites; the tablets found in the library of Assurbanipal contain an Assyrian *Sírôzah*, that is, a complete list of the Assyrian gods that preside over the thirty days of the month.' *Vide Avestá* vol. ii. p. 3.

[2] *Yasna* xvii. 11 (68, 69); *Sírôzah* i. 9; ii. 9.

[3] *Sírôzah* i. 17; ii. 17 *Yast* ii. 5; *Srósh Yast* (xi).

Srósh Yast ii. 3.

[5] viz. 'Good (Best) Thought,' Right,' 'Dominion,' 'Piety,' 'Welfare' and 'Immortality': *Yasna* xxxiv. 11; xlv. 10; xlvii. 1; *vide* Moulton's translation in *The Treasure of the Magi.* Moulton

'Immortal Holy Ones.'[1] The Deity, Ahurá Mazdá, is sometimes included under the *Amesha-Speñtas*, and in the *Haptân Yast* (ii), or *Yast* of the seven *Ameshás-pands*, invocations and sacrifices are offered to them by name.[2]

It has been mentioned (p. 40) that the story of Iblís, as regards his fall, was derived by Muhammad from a Christian source. There is also a Greek element in the legend of Iblís's fall through his refusal to worship Adam because he had been created of fire and Adam only of clay.

A Greek element in the legend of the fall of Iblis

In the *Physics* of Aristotle fire is considered more honourable than earth, and in the hierarchy of the elements fire is placed the highest of all, and earth is the lowest.[3] Before the rise of Islám the ideas of the Greeks were more or less known to the Arabs; as Greek philosophical works had been translated into the language of both the Syrians and the Persians, with whom the Arabs were in contact.

With regard to the origin of Iblís, and his ascent from Hell, as related in Muslim traditions,[4] the story is,

points out (pp. 23-24) that as 'Good Thought' can be replaced by 'Thy Thought' (*Ys.* xlvi. 7), the attribute 'Good Thought' is inseparable from the Deity, and, therefore,this and the other abstractions 'are not archangels at all, but Divine attributes within the hypostasis of Deity.' He deduces from this that Zarathuštra 'grasped the supreme truth of the Oneness of God, but realized the vital corollary —blindness to which has vitiated the monotheism of Islám—that there must be a diversity within the Godhead if the unity is to be a fruitful doctrine' (p. 24). This is true of Zarathuštra's conception of God as set forth in the *Gathas*, which are the only trustworthy source for a knowledge of his life and teaching. But later Avestic writings, as Moulton himself points out, lost the true doctrine of the great attributes of God, and simply regarded them as archangels; and this is the belief of the Pársís, as the writer finds it to-day.

[1] *Vide* Moulton's *Treasure of the Magi*, p. 21; also p. 28 for the origin of the word *Speñta* (Holy or Beneficent).

[2] In later Persian mythology Ahurá Mazdá is not included among the *Amesha-Speñtas*, and Sraósha is reckoned among them instead. *Vide* Bleeck's *Avestá*, vol. ii. p. 29, n. 1.

[3] *vide The Early Development of Mohammedanism*, p. 206, by D. S. Margoliouth.

[4] *Qiṣaṣu'l-Anbiyá*, p. 9.

The story of the origin of Iblis and of his ascent from hell is largely Zoroastrian

in its main features, Zoroastrian (due allowance being made for the Dualism of the Pársís and the Monotheism of the Muslims). It is contained in a Pahlaví work called *Búndahishnīh*[1] or *Creation*, which gives the name of Ahriman to the Evil Spirit. The account given of the Evil Spirit in this work, and the account in the *Qiṣaṣu'l-Anbiyá* of the Muslims, both agree in making him at first dwell in darkness, and rise to the light after the lapse of thousands of years, when he begins to work for the destruction of God's creatures.

The *Avestá* is also rich in demonology[2], and must

[1] Chapters i and ii. Ahriman, the Evil Spirit, is derived from Añró Mainyuš ('the destroying mind') the name by which he is known in the *Avestá*.

[2] *Vend. Farg.* xix. 43-47 (140-47), in which the wicked *Daēvas*, or demons, assemble at the gate of Hell to consider the birth of Zarathuštra. *Farg.* iii. 32 (105); viii. 31, 32 (98, 102): here the restless souls of the wicked, which are excluded from Heaven, are demons. The Persian sect of the Mahábádians held the belief that the soul of a person who had not spoken and done good became an Ahriman or Jinn. *Farg.* xix. 5 (16).

Yast, ix. 4 ; x. 26, 128-132 ; xi. 4, 13 ; xii. 23 ; xiii. 33, 57, 89, 90 (in the last reference the word or law of Ahurá destroys the *Daevas*); xiv. 54-56 ; xv. 56 ; xix. 26-33.

The *Gathas* are also full of references to the *Daēvas* ; *Yasna*, xix 4 ; xxx. 6 (here 'they chose the Worst Thought'). *Yasna*, xxxii. 3-5 ; xxxiv. 5 ; etc.

The word *Daēvas* (Skt. *deva* ; Av. *Daēva* ; Lat. *deus*, which appears in our word *Tues*-day) designated the gods, or 'heavenly ones,' worshipped by the Aryans, whose religion was then nature-worship, and which is to be found in the *Rig Veda*, or sacred Book of the Hindús. Zoroaster, which is the Græco-Roman form of Zarathuštra, preaching a spiritual monotheism which centred in the worship of a Supreme Being called Ahurá Mazdá, 'the Wise Lord,' came as a Reformer among a people who worshipped these gods called '*daēvas*.' Their worshippers rejected his teaching, and cruelly used those who accepted his religion. And when he saw the worshippers of these 'daēvas,' after offering sacrifice to them, set forth on a cruel raid upon his peaceful cultivators, he regarded these gods as devils or demons who had chosen the 'Worst Thought,' and who incited their worshippers to 'do the worst things' ; 'For ye (*Daēvas*) have brought it to pass that men who do the worst things shall be called "beloved of the *Daēvas*" ' (*Yasna* xxxii. 4). Zarathuštra therefore rejected these *daēvas* as gods, and, hence, in his system the word '*daeva*' became a term for demon or devil.

have exercised a considerable influence on Judaism during, and after, the exile to Babylon, where the Jews would come into contact with the Magi.[1] Certainly, post-exilic Judaism is markedly different from pre-exilic in its doctrine of Evil. Muḥammad was, therefore, indebted ultimately to the Persians for his doctrine of the Jinn, or demons, although, as we have seen (p. 42), he borrowed his ideas of them directly from the Jews, coloured somewhat by the Arab belief in their existence, which belief is also traceable to Persia.[2]

Belief in the Jinn or demons was derived ultimately from the Persians, although Muhammad borrowed it directly from the Jews, coloured by local Arab belief

The legend of the two fallen angels, Hárút and Márút, referred to in the Qur'án, and related more particularly in Muslim traditions, is interesting because of its possessing a composite origin. We have already mentioned (p. 42) that the story is related in the Midrásh and was evidently incorporated into the Qur'án and Muslim traditions from Jewish sources, although the two sinful angels are there given other names.[3]

The legend of Harut and Marut has a composite origin. Muhammad borrowed it from the Jews

The names occur in Armenian mythology as Hórót and Mórót, and are applied to two deities which the Armenians worshipped before they became Christians in the third or fourth century of our era. They were supposed to promote the 'productiveness and profitableness of the earth.'

The names occur in Armenian heathen mythology as Horot and Morot

In the *Avestá*, Hórót and Mórót appear as Haurvatáṭ and Ameretáṭ, the fifth and sixth attributes of Ahurá Mazdá, which the 'Later *Avestá*' personified as His Chief Messengers or Archangels, the *Ameshás-*

In the Avesta they appear as Haurvatat and Ameretat

[1] *vide* Moulton, *The Treasure of the Magi*, p. 69.
[2] *vide ante*, p. 37 and n. 3.
[3] Shemḥazái and 'Azáél are the names given in the *Midrásh Yalkút* to the two angels who sinned. According to the Muslim legend 'Azrá'íl (whom they now regard as the angel of death) accompanied Hárút and Márút to the earth, and returned to Heaven without having sinned.

pands, or 'bountiful Immortals.' Haurvatát and Ameretát are always named together in the *Avestá*, as are Hórót and Mórót in Armenian mythology, and they represent respectively 'abundance' or 'prosperity of the seasons,' and 'immortality.'[1]

The words are Aryan in origin

The words are really Âryan in origin (which is another indication that the Persians and Âryans belonged originally to the same family),[2] and occur in Sanskrit as Sarvatá[3] and Amritá.

In the Âryan legend these demigods were represented as giving fertility to the earth. They were holy beings who came to earth at the command of God, just as in the Muḥammadan legend; but their mission was not connected with sin. Muḥammad, or his informants, confounded these beings with the two sinful angels of Jewish tradition, and adopted their names from the Armenian and Persian legends, which were originally quite distinct from, and independent of, the Jewish, although the myths resembled each other sufficiently to lead him to conceive them as one and the same.

A similar legend in Babylonian mythology

The Jews were considerably indebted to Babylonian mythology for their doctrine of angels

There is, moreover, a somewhat similar legend in Babylonian mythology, from which the Jews borrowed some features of the story.[4] The Jews, in fact, were considerably indebted to Babylonian mythology for their elaborate doctrine of angels. 'The Talmud states,' Dr. Moulton says, 'that the Jews "brought the names of the angels from Babylon," which tallies with the obvious contrast between the pre-exilic angelology and the detailed and ordered hierarchies of later Judaism. This elaborated doctrine of angels and spirits was an

[1] *Avestá*, *Yast* ii, 3, 8; *Sírózah* ii, 6, 7. In later Persian, Haurvatát and Ameretát became corrupted into Khúrdád and Murdád; *Sírózah* ii, 6, 7.

[2] *vide ante* p. 39, n. 5, *et seq.* pp. 49, 94.

[3] 'Sarvatá' occurs as Sarvatáti in the *Rig Veda*, which is the oldest sacred Book of the Hindús.

[4] There is also a parallel story related in the *Mahábhárata*, the great epic poem of Sanskrit literature.

unmistakably new thing, as is shown by the refusal of the conservative Sadducees to accept it. I see no *a priori* reason for denying the possibility that Persian (that is Magian) influence fostered the growth of this quasi-animistic angelology.'[1]

The legend of Hárút and Márút ultimately found its way into the *Midrásh*, the Babylonian myth furnishing some of the details, and Muḥammad, becoming acquainted with it through his Jewish informants, admitted it to the Qur'án Later, the story became elaborated in Muslim tradition. 'Hence,' as Dr. Tisdall says,[2] we have 'the strange phenomenon of the appearance of two Âryan genii as the chief actors in a scene borrowed from the *Talmud* in its main features.'

The legend of Harut and Marut admitted to the Midrash, and from it to the Qur'an and Muslim traditions

In brief, the legend of Hárút and Márút as contained in the Qur'án and Muslim traditions, was taken from the *Midrásh*, the names being borrowed from Armenian and Persian mythology, and also some features of the story from the Babylonians.

While dealing here with Zoroastrian influence on Islám, we may also point out that the heavenly maidens called *Ḥúrís*,[3] who, Muḥammad says, were created for the faithful as one of the rewards of Paradise, and also the *Ghilmán*,[4] or immortal youths who wait upon believers in Paradise, have a Zoroastrian source, as far as Muḥammad was concerned, but may be also traced to Hindú mythology. They will be dealt with in a later chapter (vii), and it is sufficient now to point out that the *Ḥúrís* are identified with the

The Muslim Huris and Ghilman have a Zoroastrian source

but their ultimate origin is Aryan. The Huris are the Avestan Pairikas,

[1] *Early Zoroastrianism*, J. H. Moulton, D.Litt., p. 323. During their exile in Babylon the Jews would come into contact with the Magi; *vide ante*, p. 46.

[2] *The Sources of the Qur'án*, p. 101.

[3] Súratu'r-Raḥmán (lv) 56, 70, 72, 74; Súratu'l-Wáqi'a (lvi) 22, 23, 34-36; Súratu'n-Nabá' (lxxviii) 33.

[4] Súratu'l-Wáqi'a (lvi) 17, 18.

Pairikas[1] of the *Avestá*—those fair nymphs of seductive beauty who hover between heaven and earth.

The Arabic name for these beings is of Persian origin, and is derived from the Pahlaví *ḥúr*, which is the Avestic *hvare*, denoting 'brightness' or 'sunshine.'[2]

The Hindús have a similar mythological belief in their *Apsarasas*,[3] or celestial maidens, who are supposed to dwell in the sky, or स्वर्ग 'swarga,' the heaven of the god Indra. These heavenly maidens of the Hindús are the *Pairikas* of the *Avestá* and the *Ḥúrís* of the Qur'án. While, therefore, Muḥammad was directly indebted to the Persians for the idea of his 'dark-eyed maidens,' their origin can be traced also to Hindú mythology, which further indicates the common origin of these two races.

and the Hindu Apsarasas

[1] *Vend. Farg.*, i. 10 ; viii. 80 (246) ; xi. 12 (34) ; xix. 5 (18) ; xxi. 10 (25). *Yast* i. 10 ; iii. 5 ; iv. 4 ; v. 13, 26, 50 ; vi. 4 ; viii. 8, 12, 39, 44 ; x. 34, etc. *Yasna* xvi. 8. The *Pairikas* are in modern Persian the *París*, or Fairies, which are believed in by the Pársís to-day. Bleeck points out that fairies, 'the *Paricani* of the ancients,' are to this day worshipped by the people dwelling in the valley of Pishin, to the east of Segestan. *Avestá* (Bleeck), vol. i. p. 10 n. **.

[2] Some derive the word from Arabic, meaning 'dark-eyed,' but it is more probable that the Arabs, when they borrowed the idea of these shining maidens from the Persians, adopted also their word which best described them.

It is interesting to note that the Muḥammadan writer, Sayyid 'Amir 'Ali in his *Spirit of Islám*, pp. 387, 394, speaks of the 'eclectic faith of Muḥammad,' the 'Zoroastrian origin of the *Ḥúrís*' and of the 'Talmudic ideas of Hell.'

[3] The *Apsarasas* are mentioned in the *Mahábhárata* and the *Rámáyana*, and in other Sanskrit literature.

There is a peculiar Indian belief mentioned by the Indian sage Manu in his *Dharmashástra* (book vii. Sl. 89), that those warriors, the Kshatriyas, who died in battle, 'not averting their faces,' but receiving all their wounds in front, are transported to Indra's heaven by these celestial maidens, the *Apsarasas*. This is similar to the Muslim belief that those who die in battle, fighting for the faith, are assured of Heaven, and a welcome there from the heavenly *Ḥúrís*. And just as many a Rájpút warrior, abandoning all hope of life, boldly went to his death, receiving all his wounds in front, in order to gain the heaven of Indra, so many a Muslim believer cheerfully courted death in battle, because of his belief in thus obtaining immediate entrance to Paradise, and in the welcome awaiting him there from the *Ḥúrís*.

The Ghilman correspond to the Gandharvas of Indra's heaven

The *Ghilmán*, or beautiful youths of Paradise, have a similar origin, and are identical with the *Gandharvas* or celestial musicians of Indra's heaven.

Resume of conclusions reached in this chapter

In conclusion, and to summarize this section of our inquiry, it will be apparent from what has been said, that the Angelism and Demonology of the Qur'án were in no sense Muḥammad's own invention, but were derived, in the first place, partly from local beliefs and superstitions; and while some parts of his teaching are traceable to Armenian and Babylonian mythology, and some to a Christian source, and one part to Greek philosophical thought, the main elements of his doctrine were borrowed directly from Jewish sources, and were ultimately derived from Zoroastrianism.

CHAPTER V

THE BOOKS AND PROPHETS

> 'We believe in . that which hath been sent down to us, and to Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob, and that which hath been given to Moses and to Jesus, . and to the prophets from their Lord. No difference do we make between any of them.'[1]

The third and fourth articles of the Muslim Creed

BELIEF in the Books, or Sacred Writings, forms another article of the Muslim Creed, and as they are connected with the Prophets, we shall consider both together in this chapter.

Qur'anic theory of Revelation

The Qur ánic theory of Revelation is that God, at different times in the world's history, revealed His Will in Books sent down to several prophets through the Archangel Gabriel, and that each Revelation was confirmatory of the preceding ones. There are various references in the Qur'án to these Revelations or Books, but the chief ones mentioned are the *Taurát*,[2] or *the Law* (the *Pentateuch*), revealed to Moses; the *Zabúr*, or the *Psalms*,[3] revealed to David; and the *Injíl*,[4] or the *Gospel*, revealed to Jesus, which is confirmatory[5] of the Law.

The chief Revelations, or Books, are the Taurat, the Zabur, the Injil and

[1] Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 130.

[2] Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 48; in this passage *Taurát* evidently means the Scriptures of the Old Testament; it sometimes signifies the *Pentateuch* alone. Muir translates it here by the word 'Law'; *Life of Mahomet*, ch. vii. p. 155, and n. 1. Cf. Súratu'l-Anbiyá' (xxi) 49, 105; in the last verse the 'Law' = *Pentateuch*.

[3] Súratu Bani Isrá'íl (xvii) 57; Súratu'l-Anbiyá' (xxi) 105.

[4] Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 50; Súratu'l-Ḥadíd (lvii) 27.

[5] Ṣúratu'l-Má'ida (v) 50. The word *Injíl* 'the Gospel,' is given by Muḥammad in the Qur'án to the New Testament, or Canon of Scripture, in use among the Christians of his time.

the Qur'an

The Qur'án is said to have been sent down to Muḥammad, and is 'confirmatory of previous Scriptures and their safeguard.'[1] It is designated in Arabic Al-Furqán,[2] 'the Illumination,' a word which frequently occurs in the *Talmud*, and which Muḥammad borrowed from the Jews. The title Al-Furqán is also given to one of the Súras of the Qur'án (xxv), and the word is also applied in the Qur'án to the *Pentateuch*.[3] Revelation is said to have closed with the Qur'án, and Muḥammad, who was the last, and therefore 'the seal of the prophets,'[4] is considered by Muslims to be the greatest of them.

The Qur'an is called Al-Furqan,

and is said to close Revelation

One hundred other Books, sent to Adam, Seth, Enoch and Abraham, are now lost

In addition to these Books, Muslims also believe that there were one hundred other sacred Books revealed to various other prophets, namely, ten to Adam, fifty to Seth, thirty to Enoch and ten to Abraham.[5] These Books, which are called Sahífah (a pamphlet) in contradistinction to the four already mentioned which are called Kitáb (a book), are said to have been lost. But the loss is not considered important as the Qur'án is supposed to contain all that is necessary to be known about them, just as it is also supposed to contain the substance of the Taurát, Zabúr and Injíl.

Muḥammad always regarded and spoke of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures with reverence, and frequently

[1] Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 52 ; Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 83, 85.

[2] Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 2 ; Súratu'l-Furqán (xxv) 1. (The prefix 'Al' is the definite article.) Authorities are divided as to the meaning of this word, Furqán. Rodwell (*The Koran*, p. 154, n. 2) says, it means *deliverance*, *liberation*, as in Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 29, 42 ; and hence *illumination*. The usual interpretation is the *distinction* (between good and evil). Sale (*The Koran*, Prel. Discourse, sect. iii. pp. 43, 44) says, the word is used to denote a section or portion of Scripture, just as the Jews use the word *perek* or *pirka*, which is from the same root.

[3] Súratu'l-Anbiyá' (xxi) 49.

[4] Súratu'l-Aḥzáb (xxxiii) 40.

[5] The Qur'án recognises as prophets some of those whom we call Patriarchs.

Muhammad, courting recognition by the Jews, as God's Prophet, affirmed that the Qur'an was the fulfilment of their Scriptures

appealed to them, especially at the commencement, or in the early part, of his mission, for confirmation of his Qur'ánic revelations. So long, indeed, as he hoped for recognition by the Jews as God's prophet, did he affirm that his Qur'án simply contained the fulfilment of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, in which they should find him, 'the unlettered Prophet,' described.[1] Muḥammad never posed as the author of a new religion,[2] nor had he, up to this time, inculcated complusion in the observance of any form of religion.[3] But when his expectations failed to be realised, and, the Jews having denied his claims, when he found that he could dispense with their aid, although at first they had helped him to power, he then turned fiercely against them, asserting that they had 'tortured their Scriptures'[4] by reading from them what they did not contain, and suppressing those passages which had reference to him and which gave support to his claims:[5] and, further, finding that neither promises nor threats could change their attitude towards him, he exhibited, at length, the intolerance of his Faith by sweeping them from his path, sending some into exile and putting others to the sword.

But when they denied his claims, he asserted that they had distorted their Scriptures

His subsequent harsh treatment of them

With regard now to the source from which Muḥammad derived his idea of the Books, we may note, first, that the Ṣábians, whose religion Muḥammad acknowledged as on an equality with that of the Jews and

The sources of Muhammad's doctrine of the Books

[1] Súratu'l-A'ráf (vii) 156; cf. Súratu'ṣ-Ṣaff (lxi) 6.
[2] *vide* chapter ii. p. 19, n. 1.
[3] Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 256.
[4] Súratu Ali 'Imrán (iii) 72. Muḥammad's charge against the Jews and Christians was not of corrupting, or altering the text of their Scriptures, but rather of misinterpreting them, and of suppressing or hiding those passages which referred to him; *vide* also Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 16, 18.
[5] Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 18.

Christians,[1] possessed several books which they attributed to prophets before the Flood. One of their books is called *The Book of Seth*, the authorship of which they ascribe to Seth who, they say, along with Enoch, was the founder of their religion The religious ideas of this sect and the contents of *The Book of Seth* would be known among the Arabs in Muḥammad's time, and as several of the religious practices of the Muslims are indentical with those of the Ṣâbians,[2] we cannot but conclude that Muḥammad was indebted to this semi-Christian sect for some of the rites of his religious system. *The Book of Adam* is referred to in the *Talmud* (*Baba Metzia*, fol. 85 *b*): 'Shemuel said . . . I have seen it written in *the Book of Adam*.' This *Book of Adam*, it is said, was bequeathed to Seth, and became one of the precious legacies of the Jews. It is not now extant. Cf. '*Abôdâh Zârâh*, fol. 5*a*; *Sanhed.*, fol. 38*b*; Gen. v. 1.

'The Book of Seth' and other books of the Sabians known to Muhammad

Several practices of the Muslims are identical with those of the Sabians

While, however, Muḥammad was doubtless acquainted with the books of the Ṣâbians, it is self-evident

[1] Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 59; Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 73; *vide ante*, p. 7, n. 2. We may note, further, that our knowledge of this Sect is somewhat limited and obscure. Seba and Sheba are mentioned several times in Scripture; Gen. x. 7, 28; xxv. 3. Seba is also mentioned, along with Ethiopia and Egypt, in Isa. xliii. 3; and in Isa. xlv. 14, the Ṣâbians are again mentioned with Ethiopia, which lends support to the opinion of Gesenius that Seba was 'a province of Ethiopia.' Keil and Delitzsch think that the descendants of Raamah, Sheba and Dedan 'are to be sought in the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf.' The kingdom of Sheba is mentioned in 1 Kings x. 1; Job vi. 19; Psalms lxxii. 10, (15); Isa. lx. 6; Jer. vi. 20; Ezek. xxvii. 22, 23; xxxviii. 13. Arabia seems to have been the seat of this kingdom (cf Jer. xxv. 24). There is an Arabian kingdom of this name mentioned in Classical and Oriental writings, which seems to have corresponded with Yaman.

[2] *E.g.* their times of prayer, five of which correspond with those of the Muslims. They also fast for thirty days as the Muslims do during Ramaḍán [Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 181]. They also honoured the Ka'ba. Abú'l-Fidá, *At-Tawáríkhu'l Qadímah* (*Hist. Ante-Islámica*), p. 148; *vide ante*, p. 7 n. 2.

The main sources of Muhammad's doctrine of the 'Books' are Jewish and Christian

from even a superficial study of the Qur'án that it was chiefly from Jewish and Christian sources that he borrowed this distinctive article of his Creed. And, as we shall see presently, it was mainly from the same sources that he obtained his conception of the Prophets. Muḥammad frequently mentions in the Qur'án 'the people of the *Book*',[1] and this 'Book' of Sacred Writings he implicitly believed in, and accepted as God-revealed. The *Taurát*, the *Zabúr* and the *Injíl* which he refers to in the Qur'án, are the Scriptures of the Jews and Christians, and it cannot be doubted that his idea of, and claim for, the Qur'án as divine, arose from his contact with the Jews and Christians, and his knowledge of their belief in the divine nature of their Books.

Muhammad accepted the Jewish and Christian Scriptures as Divine

And, hence, made a similar claim for his Qur'an

In Súratu'l-A'lá (lxxxvii) 19, Muḥammad refers to *The Book of Abraham*; 'This truly is in the books of old, the Books of Abraham and Moses'. In this he follows the Rabbis who attribute *The Book of Jasher* to Abraham.[2] "'Behold it is written in *The Book of Jasher*' (11 Sam. 1. 18). What book is this *Book of Jasher*? Rabbi Cheya bar Abba, in the name of Rabbi Yochanan, says it is *The Book of Abraham*. . " So much, indeed, was Muḥammad indebted to the Jews for a great portion of his teaching on this and other subjects, that the Qur'án has been described as a compendium of Talmudic Judaism.

We pass, now, to consider 'The Prophets' by which title Súratu'l-Anbiyá' (xxi) of the Qur'án is called. There are twenty-five mentioned by name in the Qur'án, which, however, draws no distinction[3] between prophets and patriarchs, and in some instances

The Prophets; twenty-five mentioned in the Qur'an

[1] Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 57, 58, 62-65, 68.

[2] Fabr. *Cod. Apoc.* V T., p. 349.

[3] This is also a Jewish custom; Heber is reckoned a prophet by the Jews (*Seder Olam.*, p. 2); *vide* Josephus, *Ant.* L. I., ch. 2.

changes their Scriptural names, as for example, Edris[1] for Enoch, Houd[2] for Heber, Shoiab[3] for Jethro, Dhoulnoun[4] for Jonah, and Dhoulkefl[5] for another Old Testament prophet. The Qur'án also recognises other prophets whose names do not appear in the Jewish or Christian Scriptures, *e.g.* Luqmán-i-Hakím, or Lukmán,[6] by whose name the thirty-first Súra is called, and who is supposed to have been Æsop; and Dhoulkarnain,[7] 'the two-horned,' who is identified with Alexander the Great; and Saleh[8] who was sent to the people of Themoud, and who seems to have been a prophet of Muḥammad's own invention.

Names of some prophers mentioned in the Qur'an

Muslim tradition augments greatly the number of the prophets who have appeared in the world at various times. One tradition gives the number as 124,000, while another says it is 224,000.

Muslim tradition greatly augments their number

There are six prophets mentioned in the Qur'án with special titles given to them by way of pre-eminence. They were the heads of their respective dispensations, and introduced new laws and institutions among the people to whom they were sent. These six prophets are Adam, 'the chosen of God' (Ṣafíyu'lláh);[9] Noah, 'the prophet of God' (Nabíyu'lláh);[10] Abraham, 'the friend of God' (Khalílu'lláh);[11] Moses, 'who spoke with God' (Kalímu'lláh);[12] Jesus, 'the Spirit of God' (Rúḥu'l-

Six prophets with special titles, by way of pre-eminence

[1] Súratu Maryam (xix) 57; Súratu'l-Anbiyá' (xxi) 85.
[2] Súratu'l-A'ráf (vii) 63; Súratu Húd (xi) 52; Súratu'sh-Shu'ará' (xxvi) 124. *Vide* Geiger's *Was hat Moḥammed aus dem Judentume aufgenommen*, pp. 113-20.
[3] Súratu'sh-Shu'ará' (xxvi) 177.
[4] The man of the fish. Súratu'l-Anbiyá' (xxi) 87.
[5] Ibid. (xxi) 85.
[6] Súratu Luqmán (xxxi) 11.
[7] Súratu'l-Kahf (xviii) 82. (Cf. Dan. viii). [8] Súratu Húd (xi) 64.
[9] Súratu Ṭá Há (xx) 120. [10] Súratu Núḥ (lxxi) 1, 2, 5.
[11] Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 124; 'God took Abraham for His friend.' Muslims, therefore, call Abraham 'The friend of God,' as in the Old Testament Scriptures (Isa. xli. 8).
[12] Súratu Maryam (xix) 53; Súratu Ṭá Há (xx) 11—50.

láh);[1] and Muḥammad, 'the Messenger of God' (Rasúlu'lláh).[2] Adam is said to have been the first of the Prophets, and Muḥammad the last, and, hence, called in the Qur'án 'the seal of the prophets.'[3] Tradition ascribes to Muḥammad the saying 'there is no prophet after me.'

The sources of Muḥammad's teaching concerning the Prophets are mainly Jewish and Christian

In seeking the sources of Muḥammad's teaching concerning the prophets, it is apparent, as mentioned above, that he obtained the names of the chief prophets from the Jews and Christians, just as he conceived his idea of the Sacred Books from the same source. The special designations given to these prophets clearly indicate this, *e.g.* Abraham is 'the friend of God'; Noah is 'the warner (or prophet) of God'; Moses is the prophet 'with whom God spoke'; and Jesus is 'the Word of God' and 'a Spirit proceeding from God.'[4]

The Virgin Birth of Jesus taught in the Qur'an; and His Deity, although expressly denied, is also verbally implied

The Virgin Birth of Jesus is also a dogma of the Qur'an,[5] and His Deity,[6] as *the* Word of God, or *the* Word proceeding from God, is also verbally implied, although expressly denied. These great truths Muḥammad could only have become

[1] Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 169; Súratu Ali 'Imrán (iii) 40. In these verses Jesus is called *the* (not *a*) Word of God, and the 'Messiah,' yet in the same verse (Sú. iv. 169) Muḥammad denies His Deity.

[2] Súratu'l-Aḥzáb (xxxiii) 44.

[3] Súratu'l-Aḥzáb (xxxiii) 40. Al-Fudáli says, 'God . has distinguished our Prophet in that he is the seal of the Apostles.'

[4] The term 'Spirit of God' is frequently used in the Old and New Testament Scriptures, and as Muḥammad never comprehended the meaning of the Third Member of the Trinity, he would naturally apply this term to the Person of Jesus.

It should be noted that Muḥammad, in accordance with his usual method in plagiarism of never repeating the exact phraseology of anything he heard, changes the Scriptural expressions somewhat, in order to give them the appearance of originality: *vide* pp. 62, 82.

[5] Súratu Maryam (xix) 20-22; Ṣúratu'l-Anbiyá' (xxi) 91; Súratu't-Taḥrím (lxvi) 12; cf. Súratu Ali 'Imrán (iii) 52, in which it is said 'Jesus is as Adam,' i.e. neither of them had a human father, as 'Abbásí and Jalálain explain it.

[6] Súratu Alí 'Imrán (iii) 40, 42; Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 169; cf. Súratu'l-A'ráf (vii) 190.

acquainted with from the Christian Scriptures, or from persons conversant with these Scriptures.

The Prophets are guilty of committing sin;

Moreover, although all the prophets are supposed to have been free from sin—a belief which I have found prevalent among Muslims to-day—faults, or sins, which they have committed are mentioned in the Qur'án,[1] and could only have become known to Muḥammad through his Jewish or Christian informants.

also Muhammad

In several Súras of the Qur'án sin is also attributed to Muḥammad. His 'earlier and later sins' are referred to in Súratu'l-Fatḥ (xlviii) 2; and in Súratu'l-Mu'min (xl) 57, and Súratu Muḥammad (xlvii) 21, he is told to 'ask pardon for thy sin.'[2]

Jesus, 'the sinless Prophet of Islam'

While, however, both the impeccability and moral frailty of the prophets are set forth in the Qur'án, it is a remarkable fact that Jesus alone is proclaimed in the Qur'án as the sinless Prophet of Islám.[3] There is no passage in the Qur'án which attributes sin to Jesus, and no shadow of a suggestion that He had, like Muḥammad, to ask forgiveness for Himself. This conception of the sinlessness of our Lord could have been obtained only from

[1] Adam's sin is referred to in Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 34, and Súratu'l-A'ráf (vii) 19-22; Noah's, in Súratu Húd (xi) 49, and Súratu Núḥ (lxxi) 29; Abraham's, in Súratu'sh-Shu'ará' (xxvi) 82; and Moses', in Súratu'l-Qaṣaṣ (xxviii) 14, 15.

[2] There are various interpretations of these passages by Muslim writers, who endeavour to explain them away, and to maintain that Muḥammed was not guilty of committing sin.

[3] Jesus is the only Prophet mentioned in the Qur'án who is called 'the Word of God,' and 'the Spirit proceeding from God.' Muḥammad, in thus asserting that Jesus is 'the *one* expression of God's Will,' affirmed at the same time His absolute sinlessness. How often have I heard, when preaching in the bazaars and villages of Gujarát and Kathiawár, the phrase 'Isa Nabi (the Prophet Jesus) is the sinless Prophet of Islám'; and only to-day did a high Muḥammadan official here make a similar acknowledgment to me about our Lord, with whom, however, he, naturally, coupled the name of Muḥammad.

Muslims believe that all the prophets professed, and taught, the Faith of Islám.

Christian sources. The miraculous conception and the Sinlessness of Jesus are, therefore, dogmas taught in the Qur'án; and His Deity, although expressly denied, is at least verbally implied. Muḥammad, perhaps, did not understand the significance of the term 'Word of God.'

The Deity of Jesus repudiated by Muhammad, also the Trinity which is misconceived, or perverted

But while thus verbally implying the doctrine of Christ's Deity, the dogma did not harmonize with Muḥammad's Islámic system, and he repudiated it in his denial of the Trinity, which he either ignorantly believed, or wilfully misbelieved, to consist of God, Mary and Jesus.[1] If it were through ignorance that Muḥammad formed his erroneous conception of the Trinity, then the corrupt character of Christianity as it existed in Arabia in Muḥammad's time, or the distorted view which he obtained of Christianity on his mercantile journeys into Syria, may account for his gross perversion of this doctrine in the Qur'án.

The Divine Sonship of Jesus is rejected in the Qur'an

Muḥammad also denied the Divine Sonship of Jesus,[2] rejecting the title 'Son of God' and always using in the Qur'án 'Jesus, son of Mary.'[3] 'The Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary, is only an apostle of God';[4] 'Jesus is no more than a servant';[5] 'Verily,' said the infant Jesus from the cradle, 'I am the servant of God; He hath given me the Book, and He hath made

[1] Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 169; Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 77, 79, 116. Muḥammad was not the first to deny the Deity of Jesus. Corinthus, and the Ebionites in the early days of Christianity, and, later, Arius, and Beryllus the Bishop of Bostra in Arabia, all denied the Godhead of Jesus. The Aryian heresy had been propagated in the Peninsula before Muḥammad's time.

[2] Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 169; Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 30; Súratu Maryam (xix) 36; Súratu'l-Furqán (xxv) 2; Súratu'l-Kahf (xviii) 3, 4.

[3] Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 156, 169; Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 31; Súratu Maryam (xix) 35; Súratu'z-Zukhruf (xliii) 57.

[4] Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 169.

[5] Súratu'z-Zukhruf (xliii) 59; Súratu Maryam (xix) 31; Súratu'n Nisá' (iv) 170.

me a prophet;'[1] 'The Christians say, "The Messiah is a Son of God" They resemble . . . the Infidels of old. How are they misguided!'[2] Such are the terms used by Muḥammad with reference to Jesus in repudiating the doctrine of His Divine Sonship.

The corrupt character of Christianity in Muhammad's time largely accounts for his denial of these doctrines

It has been mentioned above that the corrupt state of Christianity, as it was presented to Muḥammad, accounted for his rejection of the Deity of Jesus, and for his misconception of the doctrine of the Trinity. His denial of the Divine Sonship of Jesus must also be attributed to the same cause. A Greek writer, in his *History of the Martyrdom of Athanasius the Persian*,[3] depicts the moral depravity of the Christians of Palestine in Muḥammad's time. Mosheim[4] also speaks of the spiritual degradation—the superstition and idolatry of the Christians of the seventh century. And Ibn Isḥáq, in describing the Christian embassy from Najrán to Muḥammad at Madína in A.D. 632, says that, 'Like all the Christians, they said "Jesus is God, the Son of God, and the third of three" namely, God, Christ, and Mary.' Such a caricature of Christian doctrine could not but be repugnant to the monotheistic mind of Muḥammad, and we can scarcely be surprised that he rejected it, although we cannot but regret that, in 'discarding the husk, he threw away, also, the kernel.' Sir W. Muir, in reference to this subject, writes, in his *Life of Mahomet* (p. 22), 'It must surely have been by such blasphemous extravagances that Mahomet was repelled from the true doctrine of Jesus as "the Son of God," and led to regard Him only as "Jesus, son of Mary."'

Much of Muḥammad's teaching about the Person of Jesus was evidently taken from apocryphal sources.

[1] Súratu Maryam (xix) 30, 31.
[2] Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 30.
[3] *Acta Martyrii S. Athanasii Persae*, p. 2.
[4] Pt. II, cap. iii. s. 1 (ed. Reid).

Much of Muhammad's teaching about the Person of Jesus was taken from apocryphal sources

At the Annunciation, the Qur'án tells us that the Angel said to Mary: 'He shall speak to men . in the cradle;'[1] and, accordingly, in Súratu Maryam (xix) 31, the babe is made to say, 'Verily, I am the servant of God; He hath given me the Book, and He hath made me a prophet.' This is one of the legends borrowed from the apocryphal *Gospel of the Infancy*,[2] in which the child Jesus, speaking in the cradle, says to Mary His mother, 'Verily I am Jesus the Son of God, the Word which thou hast borne. . My Father hath sent Me for the salvation of the world.' As Muḥammad denied the Divine Sonship of Christ, in adopting the story, he changed the words of Jesus, in order to make them harmonise with his own teaching concerning the Person of Jesus. It is probable that Muḥammad learned the story from Mary, his Coptic concubine, as the *Gospel of the Infancy* was most probably composed in the Coptic language, from which it was translated into Arabic after Muḥammad's time.

The legend about Jesus, when an infant, speaking in His cradle is, with some changes, taken from the 'Gospel of the Infancy'

There is a similar story told of Búddha in several Sanskṛit works, e.g. the *Búddha-Carita*,[3] which bears a striking resemblance to that contained in the *Gospel of the Infancy*.

A similar legend is told of Buddha. in Sanskrit works

There is also an account given in the *Avestá* of the monster Snávidhaka's speaking at birth, or when very young, and saying: 'I am an infant still, I am not yet of age; if I ever grow of age, I shall make the earth a wheel, I shall make the heavens a chariot.'[4] The mention of the 'wheel' in this passage indicates a Búddhist origin of the legend.

And of Snavidhaka in the Avesta

Other passages of the Qur'án, in which Muḥammad speaks of Christ's miracles of healing and of raising

[1] Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 41; Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 109.
[2] *Injílu't Ṭufúliyyah* (*Gospel of the Infancy*), chap. i.
[3] Book i. 34.
[4] *The Avestá*, *Yast*, xix. 43. (According to Pliny, and later Pársí tradition, it is said that Zarathuŝtra, alone of mortals, laughed while being born.)

the dead,[1] may have been derived from the Canonical Gospels, or perhaps from apocryphal gospels which contained these accounts. The fable about Jesus, when a child, making a bird of clay and giving life to it, which is referred to in Súratu Âli 'Imrán (iii) 43 and Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 110, along with references to His miracles of healing and of quickening the dead, is borrowed from the apocryphal *Gospel of Thomas the Israelite.*[2] The legend also occurs twice in the Arabic *Gospel of the Infancy*,[3] and as the latter part of this work, in which the story occurs, was taken from the *Gospel of Thomas the Israelite*, the legend was, therefore, borrowed from the same source. The slight verbal differences in the accounts given of the legend in these Gospels and in the Qur'án,[4] may be accounted for by Muḥammad's repeating the story from hearsay and not from the written Gospels; or, perhaps, the reason may lie in Muḥammad's attempt to hide his plagiarism (*vide* p. 57, n. 4, and p. 82).

Origin of legend of Jesus' making birds of clay

Further, although there are passages in the Qur'án which at least imply that the death of Jesus actually occurred,[5] Muḥammad explicitly denies His crucifixion.

[1] Súratu Âli 'Imrán (iii) 43; Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 110.
[2] Chapter ii.
[3] In chapters xxxvi and xlvi.
[4] Muḥammad mentions only one bird, and that Jesus breathed into it to give it life, whereas in the 'Gospel' twelve birds are mentioned which received life by the command of Jesus.
[5] Súratu Âli 'Imrán (iii) 48; Súratu Maryam (xix) 34. Some Muslim commentators, in explanation of these verses, say that Jesus actually died, and remained dead for some hours, and was then taken by Gabriel to Heaven. This is supposed to have occurred, when He was imprisoned, on the night before His crucifixion, and that another in His likeness was crucified in His stead. But according to Muslim traditions, and the general belief of Muslims at the present day, Jesus was taken up to Heaven, by Gabriel, *alive*. The words of Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 156, quoted in the text, remind us of what the *Talmud* says concerning the escape of Moses from Pharoah: 'The king, after having had Moses seized, gave the order to cut off his head an angel descended from heaven *and took the form of Moses*, who thus escaped while they seized the angel.' *Berákhôth* (*Jeru, Tal.*), fol. 13 *a*, col. 1.

In Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv), 156, he says: 'Yet they slew Him not, and they crucified Him not, but they had only His likeness. God took Him to Himself.' From this denial of the Crucifixion it would appear that Muḥammad was ignorant of the fundamental doctrine of Christ's Atonement, as well as of other doctrines of the Christian Faith;[1] for his repudiation of this dogma was not aimed at the Christians, but against his enemies, the Jews, who gloried in the fact that their nation had put Jesus to death. In verses 154, 156, of the same Súra (Súratu'n-Nisá') he says: 'God hath sealed them (the Jews) up for their unbelief, so that few believe. . And for their saying, "Verily we have slain the Messiah, Jesus."'

Crucifixion of Jesus is denied in the Qur'an; in opposition, not to the Christians, but to the Jews

From whence came this denial of the central theme of Christianity by Muḥammad? Tisdall, in his *Sources of the Qur'án* (p. 182), thinks that 'it seemed to him to be derogatory to the dignity of Christ to have been crucified and put to death by His enemies.' But in other parts of the Qur'án Muḥammad admits that the Jews put 'prophets to death unjustly,'[2] so that the denial of Christ's death on the cross must have some other source than Muḥammad's own ideas. Nor can this denial be traced to the usual apocryphal gospels to which he, or his informants, had recourse. For light on this question we must refer to the writings of certain heretics who flourished in the second and third centuries of our era, and who also denied the crucifixion

Origin of Muhammad's denial of the Crucifixion of Christ

Certain heresiarchs, in the second and third centuries, denied the Crucifixion

[1] The Sacrament of Baptism is not referred to in the Qur'án, and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, if referred to at all, is mixed up with fable. Christianity seems to have had practically little influence on Islám, which may be accounted for by the fact that Islám had taken shape before Muḥammad had become properly acquainted with its tenets. Judaism, on the other hand, as Muir says, 'gave colour to the whole system, and lent to it the shape and type, if not the actual substance, of many ordinances.'

[2] Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 154.

of Christ. From Irenæus we learn that the Gnostic Basilides, whose date is about A.D. 138, taught his followers that Jesus 'had not suffered, and that a certain Simon of Cyrene was crucified through ignorance and error, having been changed in form by Him, so that it should be thought that he was Jesus Himself.'[1]

Basilides

It is true, as Sir W. Muir points out in his *Life of Mahomet* (p. 161) that Gnosticism had disappeared from Egypt before the sixth century, and may never have gained a footing in Arabia. But some of its strange teaching was doubtless preserved in Syrian tradition, and would come to the knowledge of Muḥammad, or his informants, who, even on Christian subjects, seem chiefly to have been Jews.

Manes was another heretical teacher who flourished about A.D. 270. He, too, denied the crucifixion of Christ, and taught his followers, 'Princeps itaque tenebrarum cruci est affixus, idemque coronam spineam portavit.'[2] The doctrines of this heretical sect were known in Arabia before Muḥammad's time, and were doubtless known to Muḥammad. Palmer, in his Introduction to the Qur'án (p. lii) quotes the opening verse of Súratu'l-An'ám (vi), which says, 'Praise belongs to God Who created the Heavens and the Earth, and brought into being the darkness and the light,' as directed against, and 'negativing, the Manichaean theory that the two principles of light and darkness were uncreated and eternal, and by their admixture or antagonism gave birth to the material universe.'

Manes

Manichaeanism was known in Arabia, and to Muhammad

With regard to Muḥammad's denial of the crucifixion

[1] 'Neque passum eum; et Simonem quendam Cyrenæum angariatum portasse crucem eius pro eo; et hunc secundum ignorantiam et errorem crucifixum, transfiguratum ab eo, uti putaretur ipse esse Iesus.' Iren., *Adv. Haeres*, bk. i. 23.

[2] 'The Prince of darkness, therefore, was fastened to the Cross, and the same person bore the crown of thorns.' Manes (or Mání), *Ep. Fund., ap. Evodium.*

of Christ, Dr. Sell categorically asserts that, Muḥammad borrowed the idea from the Manichaeans.'[1]

Christ's death on the Cross is also denied in the 'Travels of the Apostles'

The same idea is contained in an apocryphal work called the *Travels of the Apostles*, which Photius in his *Bibliotheca* refers to. It is asserted in this book that 'Christ had not been crucified, but another in His stead.'[2]

Muhammad's denial of the Crucifixion may have been intended as a compromise between Judaism and Christianity

In denying the crucifixion of Christ, Muḥammad was, therefore, only following the heretical teaching on this subject which was then more or less prevalent in Arabia, and which he may have regarded as a kind of compromise between Judaism and Christianity, by which he may have hoped to gain both Jews and Christians to an acceptance of the Faith of Islám. It should be borne in mind, however, that Muḥammad's conception of the Person of Christ had nothing in common with the Docetic doctrine[3] of these heresiarchs, upon which they based their denial of Christ's crucifixion.

The death of Jesus, after His Second Advent, is also taught in the Qur'an

It is also taught in the Qur'án, although the passages are obscure, that Jesus will die after His Second Advent, and be raised to life again.[4] A similar idea concerning Enoch and Elijah, who were trans-

[1] Sell, *The Faith of Islám*, pp. 239-40, n. 1.

[2] Photius in the *Bibliotheca*, Cod. cxiv, says that the Apocr. bk. *περίοδοι ἀποστόλων, πολλὰς. . ἀτοπίας ἀναπλλάττει, κὰι τὸν χριστὸν μὴ σταυρωθῆναι, ἀλλ᾽ ἕτερον ἀντ᾽ ἀυτοῦ.*

The statement in the *Gospel of Barnabas* that Judas was crucified instead of Christ, is not relevant to the present discussion, as this work was composed long after Muḥammad's time; *vide ante*, p. 40.

[3] The docetic principle that Jesus was identical with *νοῦς* or mind, the first emanation from God, and that He had not a real human body, but only the appearance of one, and was, hence, incapable of suffering—this principle was opposed to Muḥammad's conception of Christ's Person, which he regarded as *human* in every respect. But while he discarded the premisses of these heretics, he, probably through ignorance, accepted their conclusion.

[4] Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 48; Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 157 Súratu Maryam (xix) 34.

lated, is contained in an apocryphal work, which, though in Arabic, is probably of Coptic origin, and is entitled *The Decease of our holy Father, the old man Joseph the Carpenter;* and also in a Coptic work called *The History of the Falling Asleep of Mary.* In the former book it is written, 'These men' (Enoch and Elijah) 'must come to the world at the end of time . and must die.'[1] In the latter work almost similar words are used with reference to these prophets, namely, 'It is necessary for them also finally to taste of death.'[2] Muḥammad was evidently acquainted with these references, for in two Súras of the Qur'án[3] he repeats the phrase, 'every soul shall taste of death'; and as he believed that Jesus had been taken to Heaven without dying a natural death, he, therefore, thought that, like Enoch and Elijah, He must die after His return to earth. There is, therefore, a vacant tomb reserved for the body of Jesus, at Madína, close beside the graves of Muḥammad, Abú Bakr, and 'Umar.

Derived from apocryphal works, which teach that Enoch and Elijah, who were translated, must return to earth and die; and so, by analogy, will Jesus die

The references in the Qur'án and Muslim Traditions,[4] to the Second Advent of Christ, which is to be a sign of the last hour,[5] His overthrow of Antichrist,[4] and the

[1] Chapter xxxi. [2] *Coptic Apocry. Gospels*, pp. 108-9.

[3] Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 182; Súratu'l-'Ankabút (xxix) 57.

[4] *Qiṣáṣu'l-Anbiyá*, p. 275; *'Aráisu't Tíján*, p. 554.

[5] Súratu'z-Zukhruf (xliii) 61. According to the Qur'án, Christ will not come as a judge, but to be judged with the other prophets, Súratu'l-Aḥzáb (xxxiii) 7, 8. He will also bear witness against the Jews who reject Him, Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 157. Muslims believe that Jesus will descend near the mosque at Damascus; act as Imám, or Leader in the prayers of the Faithful; marry, and live for forty years, during which time peace and prosperity will abound. The Muslim traditional belief that Jesus will marry, on His Second Advent, may have arisen from a misunderstanding of the passage in the Apocalypse which refers to the 'Marriage of the Lamb. . And His wife hath made herself ready' (Rev. xix. 7). Similarly, a misunderstanding of Christ's remaining with His disciples for *forty days*, after His Resurrection, as told in Acts i. 3, may explain the tradition that He is to live *forty years* on the earth after His return.

The references to Christ's Second Advent, and the spread of His Kingdom, are borrowed from the Old and New Testament Scriptures

universal spread of His Kingdom on the earth, are all manifestly borrowed from the Old and New Testament Scriptures.[1] But the statement that 'He will slay every one who does not believe in Islám,'[2] is only in accordance with, and dictated by, the intolerant spirit of Islám.

The supposed New Testament prophecy of Muhammad's appearance

Before closing the Qur'ánic references to Christ, we must mention the supposed prediction by Christ of the coming or appearance of Muḥammad. In Súratu'ṣ-Ṣaff (lxi) 6, we read, 'And remember when Jesus the Son of Mary said, "O, children of Israel! of a truth I am God's apostle to you, to confirm the law which was given before me, and to announce an apostle that shall come after me, whose name shall be Aḥmad."' The word 'Aḥmad,' in this passage, is one of the Prophet's names, and is from the same root, and has the same meaning, as Muḥammad (i.e. 'the praised'). In the New Testament passages here referred to, namely, *Injíl*, John, xiv. 16, 26; xv. 26; and xvi. 7, the word in Greek is παράκλητος, 'The Comforter' or 'Holy Spirit,' and Muḥammad, or his informants, confounded this word, or identified it, with περικλυτός, which may possibly be rendered by 'Aḥmad.' Sir W. Muir says that 'παράκλητος may in some imperfect or garbled translation have been rendered by the equivalent of περικλυτός.'[3] The Qur'ánic

This misconception arose from confounding the word παράκλητος, 'The Comforter,' with the word περικλυτός, which *may* be rendered by 'Aḥmad,' one of Muhammad's names

[1] Acts, i. 11; Rev., i. 7; Isaiah, xi. 1-9; xxxii. 1, 16-18; xxxv.

[2] *Qiṣáṣu'l-Anbiya*, p. 275; *'Aráisu't Tíján*, p. 554.

[3] *Life of Mahomet*, p. 164, n. 2. It should also be noted, in this connection, that Manes or Mání, the false prophet of Persian fame, had, long before Muḥammad, made a similar claim that this prediction of Christ concerning the coming of the 'Paraclete,' applied to him. He was put to death by Bahrám I, of Persia, about A.D. 276.

We may also note here the Avestan prediction (*Yast* xix. 89, 90) to the coming of the victorious Saoshyant, son of Zarathuštra, who will destroy the evil Spirit, Ahriman, and 'restore the world, which will (thenceforth) never grow old and never die.'

misconception of these passages is prevalent in India to-day, as I have had occasion to know in my talks and discussions with Muslims and their Mullás.[1]

The foregoing Qur'ánic references to the Person of Jesus have, I think, disclosed the fact that Muḥammad's teaching on this subject is, in some respects, vague and inconsistent. In endeavouring to account for this, we can only suppose that Muḥammad adopted the expressions about the Person of Jesus then current among the Christians, probably with the intention of commending his religion of Islám to them, and of gaining their recognition of him as God's Prophet, or, probably, because he did not fully understand their significance.

Muhammad's teaching about the Person of Jesus is, in some respects, vague and inconsistent

Explanation of this

It is also a Qur'ánic belief, derived ultimately from the old and the New Testament Scriptures, that the prophets had the power of working miracles, and those of Moses and Jesus are specially referred to.[2] But Muḥammad, to whom Muslim Tradition, and orthodox Muslims, ascribe many miracles,[3] distinctly disclaims in the Qur'án any such power. When asked by the Quraish for some miraculous sign which would convince them of his divinely inspired Apostleship, his reply was, 'Am I more than a man? '[4] and in other passages he grounded his refusal on the fact that he was sent only as a 'warner,'[5] and that the miracles of previous prophets had been

Muslims believe that all the prophets work miracles

Muhammad disclaimed the power of working miracles

[1] Muslim Doctors of Divinity.

[2] Súratu Ali 'Imrân (iii) 43; Súratu'l-A'râf (vii) 160.

[3] Namely, 'The splitting of the moon'; 'the Mi'râj'; 'the coming of a tree into his presence'; 'the returning of the sun'; 'feeding a million people upon a few loaves, many fragments being left', 'fountains flowing from his fingers and toes'; etc.; *vide Mishkátu'l-Maṣábíḥ*, vol. ii. This work was written by Shaikh Wāli'ud'-din, 737 A.H., and contains the most important Muslim Traditions.

[4] Súratu Bani Isrá'íl (xvii) 92-95.

[5] Súratu'r-Ra'd (xiii) 8; *vide ante*, p. 18, n. 3.

His reasons

treated 'as lies' by the people of old.[1] These refusals were, moreover, accompanied by threats of punishment in this present life, and Hell-fire in the next, for those whom 'God causeth to err' in rejecting his prophetic claims.[2]

Muhammad's conscious fraud

The Prophet's plea that the miracles of former prophets were treated 'as lies' by the people, is not in accordance with truth, and, with his declinature to furnish visible proofs of his Apostleship such as those given by other prophets, is only another indication of the conscious fraud which he had recourse to, in order to maintain his self-appointed commission as God's Prophet, and which Palmer, in his Introduction to the Qur'án (p. xlvi.), seems to palliate by saying, 'the profession of a prophet necessarily involves' it, but which, to our thinking, in a religious teacher, cannot be too severely condemned.

The Qur'an is the great miracle of Islam

Muḥammad, it is true, asserted that the Qur'án was the great outstanding miracle of Islám,[3] and was intended for all ages and people, while the miracles and messages of former prophets were meant only for their own people. And, further, when his enemies made the charge that 'The Qur'án is his own device,' he challenged them to 'bring ten Súras like it,'[4] or even 'one Súra like it,' as he said in a later 'revelation.'[5]

Muhammad's challenge for any one to devise 'a Sura like it';

When, however, his opponent, Naḍr bin al-Ḥárith, as Ibn Hishám in *Síratu'r-Rasúl* tells us, produced some tales from Persian lore about 'Rustam the strong, and about Isfandiyár and the kings of Persia,' and then said, 'Muḥammad is not a better story-teller than I am, and his discourse is nothing but the "Tales of the

[1] Súratu Bani Isrá'íl (xvii) 61; cf. Súratu'l-An'ám (vi) 37.
[2] Súratu'r-Ra'd (xiii) 32-34; Súratu Bani Isrá'íl (xvii) 99.
[3] Súratu Bani Isrá'íl (xvii) 90.
[4] Súratu Húd (xi) 16.
[5] Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 21; Súratu Yúnas (x) 39.

Ancients";[1] he has composed them just as I have composed them,' he brought down upon himself the 'revealed' imprecations of Muḥammad, with threats of 'a shameful punishment,'[2] and ultimately paid for his audacity by the forfeiture of his life. When taken prisoner at the battle of Badr, although other prisoners were allowed by Muḥammad to be ransomed, this privilege was denied to him, and he was put to death. Muḥammad evidently considered him an opponent too dangerous to be allowed to live.

Accepted by an opponent, who was ultimately put to death

[1] Súratu'l-Furqán (xxv) 5, 6; Súratu'l-Qalam (lxviii) 15.
[2] Súratu'l-Játhiya (xlv) 6-8; Súratu'l-Qalam (lxviii) 16.

CHAPTER VI

THE RESURRECTION AND THE DAY OF JUDGMENT

'And there shall be a blast on the trumpet,—it is the threatened Day!'[1]

'And lo! they shall speed out of their sepulchres to their Lord.'[2]

'And the earth shall shine with the light of her Lord, and the Book shall be set, and the prophets shall be called up, and the witnesses; and judgment shall be given with equity; and none shall be wronged.'[3]

THE doctrine of the Resurrection, and the Day of Judgment, as taught in the Qur'án and amplified in Muslim Traditions, is a very elaborate one; but we shall confine ourselves largely to the teaching of the Qur'án.

The Day of Judgment known only to God. Derived from New Testament

The Day of Judgment or 'the Hour',[4] as it is sometimes called in the Qur'án, is a secret known only to God.[5] This is in accordance with the teaching of the New Testament, which Muḥammad would learn from his Christian or Jewish informants,[6] as he would also obtain

[1] Súratu'l-Qáf (L) 19. [2] Súratu Yá Sín (xxxvi) 51. [3] Súratu'z-Zumar (xxxix) 69.

[4] Súratu'l-An'ám (vi) 40; Súratu'l-Anbiyá' (xxi) 50; Súratu's-Sabá' (xxxiv) 3; Súratu Maryam (xix) 77; Súratu'l-Qiyámat (lxxv) 34; Súratu'n-Názi'át (lxxix) 42. It is also called 'The Day' in Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 102; Súratu'l-An'ám (vi) 22; Súratu'l-Qári'a (ci) 3; and 'The last Day' in Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 42, 43. These are also Scriptural expressions. *Vide Injíl*, Matthew, xxiv. 36.

[5] Súratu'n-Názi'át (lxxix) 42, 44. Cf. Matthew, xxiv. 36; Zech., xiv. 7; Acts, i. 7

[6] Muḥammad obtained his knowledge of Christianity partly from Christian slaves, and Arab converts to Christianity; but his chief in-

The designations of 'The Hour,' 'The Day,' and 'The last Day,' are taken from the New Testament

his designation of 'the Day '[1] and 'the Hour' from the same source. It is also called in the Qur'án 'the day of severing,' or 'the day of separation'[2]—an idea which Muḥammad would obtain from the account given in the *Injíl* of the separation of the sheep from the goats.[3]

Signs mentioned in the Qur'an and Traditions, which are said to precede the Day of Judgement

There are certain signs[4] mentioned in the Qur'án and the Traditions—twenty-five in all—which are said to precede the Day of Judgement, and by which its approach may be determined. Among these may be mentioned the decay of faith,[5] and great distress in the world:[6] the rising of the sun in the West:[7] a smoke filling the earth:[8] the splitting asunder of the Moon:[9] the appearance of the Beast:[10] the coming of Masíh-ud-Dajjál (*Mishkátu'l-Maṣábíḥ*, Book xxiii. chap. iv), or Anti-Christ: the descent of Jesus[11] (not as a

formants seem to have been Jews. Zwemer, in his *Arabia The Cradle of Islam*, p. 163, points out that 'both Jews and Christians . . dwelt in the vicinity of Mecca for two hundred years before the Hegira' (or the flight from Mecca).

[1] See last page, n. 4.

[2] Súratu'sh-Shúrá (xlii) 20; Súratu'd-Dukhán (xliv) 40; Súratu'l-Mursalát (lxxvii) 13, 14, 38. 'The Day of Severing' here means 'the Day of Judgment,' when the wicked shall be separated from the believers.

[3] *Injíl*, Matthew, xxv. 32, 33.

[4] *vide Mishkátu'l-Maṣábíḥ*, Book xxiii. chaps. iii., and iv. In Súratu Muḥammad (xlvii) 20, the signs referred to are the mission of Muḥammad, and the splitting of the Moon.

[5] There is a tradition from the *Sharḥ-i-'Aqá'id-i-Jámí* that the Prophet said,' The last hour will not be till no one is found who calls on God.' *Vide* also *Mishkát*. bk. xxiii. chap. iii ('Among the Signs . . will be the taking away of knowledge' . . . 'Men shall not attend to . . the Law'). Cf. II. Thess., ii. 3 ("That day shall not come, except there come a falling away first'); Lu. xviii. 8.

[6] Súratu'l-Anbiyá' (xxi) 97 Súratu'd-Dukhán (xliv) 10, 11; Súratu'l-Muddaththir (lxxiv) 9.

[7] Súratu'l-Qiyámat (lxxv) 9 ('The sun and moon shall be together'); *i.e.* either 'united' in the loss of their light (Baiḍáwí), or both rising in the West.

[8] Súratu'd-Dukhán (xliv) 9, 10. [9] Súratu'l-Qamar (liv) 1.

[10] Súratu'n-Naml (xxvii) 84.

[11] Súratu'z-Zukhruf (xliii) 61 (i.e. at His Second Advent).

judge, but, like other prophets, to be judged),[1] Who will overcome Anti-Christ, and during whose sojourn the earth will enjoy peace and prosperity, and the lion and the bear shall lie down with the camel and the sheep, and a child shall play unhurt with serpents: the invasion of Gog and Magog,[2] and their attack on the Holy City, and God's destruction of them: and the coming of Imám Madhí.[3]

The trumpet shall sound, when all shall die, and then be resurrected:

Then, at God's appointed time, Isráfíl shall sound the trumpet once, when all in the Heavens and on the earth shall die, and, again, a second time, when all shall be resurrected.[4] After an interval[5] 'the Book shall be set,' and the Judgement will begin.

[1] Súratu'l-Aḥzáb (xxxiii) 7, 8; Súratu'z-Zumar (xxxix) 69.

[2] Súratu'l-Anbiyá' (xxi) 96; Súratu'l-Kahf (xviii) 93, 97, 99; *Mishkát.* bk. xxiii. ch. iv, ('The sixth sign is the coming of Gog and Magog'). Cf. Rev. xx. 8; Ezek. xxxviii. 2; (*Pseudojon* on Lev. xxvi. 44). There is an ancient Jewish and Christian legend which connects Gog and Magog with the end of the world.

[3] Ibn 'Abbás records a tradition that the twelfth, and last, Khalífa will be the 'Madhí, who will fill the earth with justice, even though it be covered with tyranny. He will come at last. Jesus will then appear and follow him. The light of God will illuminate the earth, and the empire of the Imám will extend from east to west.' The coming of the Madhi is frequently referred to in the *Mishkat.* bk. xxiii ch. iii.

[4] Súratu'z-Zumar (xxxix) 68; Súratu'n-Názi'át (lxxix) 6, 7, 13; Súratu'n-Naml (xxvii) 89; some commentators say that the blast mentioned in Sú. lxxix. 13 is the second, and others say it is the third, blast. See also Súratu'l-Mu'minún (xxiii) 103; Súratu Yá Sín (xxxvi) 51; Súratu's-Ṣáffát (xxxvii) 19; Súratu'l-Qáf (L) 19. As there are only two blasts distinctly mentioned in the Qur'án, some commentators make no distinction between the first and second blast. According to the tradition related by Abú Huraira, Isráfíl will blow three times. 'The first time, the blast of consternation, to terrify; the second, the blast of examination, to slay; the third, the blast of resurrection, to quicken the dead;' *vide ante*, p. 35, n. 5.

[5] According to tradition, this interval will last forty years, during which time the books, which contain the record kept by the 'Illustrious Recorders', will be given up. The books of the wicked are kept in Sijjín, a prison in Hell, which gives its name to the books kept there; [Súratu't-Taṭfíf (lxxxiii) 7-9]; and the registers of the righteous are kept in Illiyún, a *lofty* apartment in Paradise, which also gives its name to the registers kept there (Sú. *ibid.*18-20).

Every person will receive his own book in which all his good and evil deeds are recorded;[1] and these deeds (or, as some think, the books) will then be weighed in the 'Balance,'[2] which is suspended between Heaven and Hell. They into whose right hand[3] the book is given will rejoice, for their balances are heavy, as their good deeds outweigh their evil ones: these shall go into Paradise. They into whose left hand[4] the book is given will grieve, for their balances are light, as their evil deeds outweigh their good ones, and Hell-fire is their portion.[5]

and judged according to their works recorded in their books, which will be weighed in the 'Balance'

The deeds of unbelievers (non-Muslims) will not be weighed, for 'By their tokens shall the sinners be known, and they shall be seized by their forelocks and their feet' (Sú. lv. 41). 'Vain are their works; and no weight will we allow them on the day of resurrection. This shall be their reward—Hell' (Sú. xviii. 105-6).

Unbelieving non-Muslims excepted; they are seized and cast into Hell

Besides this doctrine of 'Works,' there is also the doctrine of 'Grace' more or less dimly taught in the

[1] Súratu Bani Isrá'íl (xvii) 14.

[2] Súratu'l-A'ráf (vii) 7, 8; Súratu'l-Anbiyá' (xxi) 48; Súratu'l-Mu'minún (xxiii) 104, 105; Súratu'sh-Shúrá (xlii) 16; Súratu'r-Raḥmán (lv) 6; Súratu'l-Ḥadíd (lvii) 25; Súratu'l-Qári'a (ci) 5, 6. Muslim writers say, on the authority of Tradition, that the 'Balance' will be suspended between Heaven and Hell. Weighing is a figure frequently employed in the *Talmud; vide* Tr. *Rôsh Hashshánáh*, fol. 17*a* ['The Most Compassionate inclines (the scale of justice) to the side of mercy']. We shall see later (p. 84,), that Muḥammud was indebted to *The Testament of Abraham* for his idea of the 'Balance.' The ultimate source is ancient Egyptian mythology.

[3] Súratu'l-Ḥáqqa (lxix) 19; Súratu'l-Inshíqáq (lxxxiv) 7-9.

[4] Súratu'l-Ḥáqqa (lxix) 25; Súratu'l-Inshíqáq (lxxxiv) 10, 11. Muslims believe that the right hand of the lost will be chained to their neck, and the left hand chained behind their back; hence in the last reference it is said the 'Book shall be given behind his back.'

[5] Súratu'l-A'ráf (vii) 8; Súratu'l-Mu'minún (xxiii) 105; Súratu'l-Ḥáqqa (lxix) 30, 31; Súratu'l-Inshíqáq (lxxxiv) 10-12; Súratu'l-Qári'a (ci) 6-8.

The doctrine of 'Grace' (as well as the doctrine of 'Works') is also dimly taught in the Qur'an and Muslim Traditions

Qur'án and the Traditions. Bukhárí records a tradition that the Prophet said to his followers: 'Not one of you shall enter Paradise except through the mercy of God;' and when asked, 'Not even thou, O apostle of God?' he replied, 'Not even I.' Some passages in the Qur'án seem to give colour to this belief. In Súratu'd-Dukhán (xliv) 40-42, we read: on 'the day of severing' none shall be helped, 'save these on whom God shall have mercy.'[1] This belief, if really held by Muḥammad, would have been ultimately derived from the teaching of the Old and New Testament Scriptures; but there are allusions to the doctrine in the *Talmud*; e.g. *Rôsh. Hashshánáh*, fol. 17*a*, 'The Most Compassionate inclines (the scale of Justice) to the side of mercy;' *Pirqéy Âbôth*, chap. iii. 24, 'The world is judged by Grace.' These and other references would suggest the idea to Muḥammad.

All believers must pass through Hell, but no believer (i.e. Muslim) will remain in Hell for ever

The Qur'án also teaches that every one—even believers—must pass through Hell,[2] but no Muslim will remain in Hell for ever.[3] Eternal torment is reserved only for infidels, or unbelievers, who have rejected the Faith of Islám.[4] Baiḍáwí, Al-Ghazálí, and Al-'Ash'arí, all support the view that the believer will not be left in Hell for ever. Baiḍáwí says that the verse, 'Every soul shall be paid what it hath earned' (Sú. iii. 24), teaches that 'Service done is not lost. The believer will not be left in Hell for ever, because, as the reward for his faith and his works cannot be paid in Hell or before he enters it, it can only be given after he is released from it.'[5] Al-Ghazálí says, 'There will not remain in Hell an attester of God's Unity. . And he who remains of the believers shall be brought

[1] Cf. Súratu Áli'Imrán (iii) 103; Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 59; Súratu Bani Isrá'íl (xvii) 56, 59; Súratu Maryam (xix) 94; Súratu'l-Ḥujurát (xlix) 7, 8.

[2] Súratu Maryam (xix) 72.

[3] Súratu Maryam (xix), 73; Súratu'z-Zilzál (xcix) 7; belief in Islám is considered a good work, which ultimately merits Paradise.

[4] Súratu'l-Kahf (xviii) 102; Súratu'l-Bayyina (xcviii) 5; Súratu'l-Qáf (L) 23-25.

[5] Baiḍáwí, vol. i. p. 150.

forth of the Grace of God . . . so there shall not abide eternally in the Fire a single believer.'[1] And Al-'Ash'arí says: 'The sinner who dies unrepentant is at the mercy of God, but the Prophet will intercede for him, as he said, "My intercession is for those among my people who commit great sins." . . . At the last they enter Paradise. . . He in whose heart is one atom of faith cannot be finally lost.'[2]

The doctrine of the final Salvation of Muslim believers resembles, in some respects, the Christian doctrine of 'the Perseverance of the Saints'

This doctrine of the final Salvation of the Muslim believer bears at least a resemblance to the New Testament doctrine of 'the Perseverance of the Saints,' although differing from it in some important respects.

Explanations given of passage that even believers must go down into Hell

The passage in the Qur'án (Sú. xix. 72), which teaches that even believers must go down to Hell, has caused much anxious thought among Muslims, even to the present day. Some commentators have tried to explain it metaphorically, or as indicating that believers will come near to Hell, as they pass over the 'Bridge,' Aṣ Ṣiráṭ, on their way to Paradise. The passage, however, is of uncertain interpretation. Tisdall[3] thinks that it probably contains a reference to Purgatory, which Muḥammad may have heard of from the Christians of his day; or it is possible that he may have misunderstood some passages of Scripture[4] which seem to favour this doctrine. Hughes says, 'Jahannam' (the word used by Muḥammad for this purgatorial Hell) 'is the Arabic form of the Greek γέεννα, and it is remarkable that the word should be used for a purgatorial Hell, and not ᾅδης, which, according to the Papists, denotes that state.'[5]

Iḥyá' 'ulúmu'd-Dín vol. ii. pp. 37-42.
Shahrastání, *al-Milal wa'n-Niḥal*, p. 73.
Sources of the Qur'án, p. 198.
Injíl, Mark, ix. 49; I Cor. iii. 13.
Notes on Muhammadanism, p. 96, n. †. But the *Talmud* has *Gehinnom* (גֵּיהִנּוֹם) which is rendered by γέεννα in Greek, and the Arabic جَهَنَّم (Jahannam) is really a transliteration of the Hebrew *Berák-hôth*, fol. 15*a*, 19*a*; *Erubin*, fol. 19*a*.

In spite, however, of the attempts made to give another meaning to the passage (Sú. xix. 72, 73) than that which the words obviously convey, it is the general belief among Muslims of the present time, that believers will enter Hell, but will not be detained long there, nor will they suffer much in their passage through it. Muḥammad may have been indebted for the idea to *The Testament of Abraham* which speaks of every man's work being tried by fire, and if the fire burns it up, the man is carried away to the place of torment by the Angel who presides over the fire. The idea must have come originally from the Apostle Paul's warning to the Corinthian Church, in I Cor. iii. 13, 15. We shall see (p. 84), that other features of Muḥammad's teaching may be traced to this ancient apocryphal work (*The Testament of Abraham*).

It is the general Muslim belief that believers will pass through Hell

Muhammad probably got the idea from 'The Testament of Abraham,' which took it from I Cor. iii. 13, 15

The place where the Judgement will be held is said to be the Earth, which on that 'Day' 'shall be changed into another Earth, and the Heavens also.'[1] From this Qur'ánic passage it would seem that Muḥammad was acquainted with the Scriptural expression, 'new heavens and a new earth.'[2]

The place of the Judgment is the Earth, which shall be changed

The duration of the Day of Judgement, according to one passage of the Qur'án, will be a thousand years,[3] and according to another passage, fifty-thousand years.[4] These expressions may only be figurative, like Muḥammad's reference in Súratu'l-Ḥajj (xxii) 46 ('Verily, a day with thy Lord is as a thou-

Duration of the Day of Judgment

[1] Súratu Ibráhím (xiv) 49.
[2] Isaiah lxv. 17 ; lxvi. 22 ; II Peter iii. 13 ; Rev. xxi. 1.
[3] Súratu's-Sajda (xxxii) 4.
[4] Súratu'l-Ma'árij (lxx) 4. The expressions in these last two references, as mentioned in the text, may be hyperbolical. Cf. Súratu'l-Qadar (xcvii) 1-3.

sand years'), which was evidently taken from Psalm xc. 4.[1]

The Qur'án also states that the bodily members of unbelievers shall witness against them on the Day of Judgement [Súratu'n-Núr (xxiv) 24; Súratu Yá Sín (xxxvi) 65]; and that idols shall be punished with their worshippers [Súratu'l-Anbiyá' (xxi) 98-100.] Both these ideas, we may point out here, are Talmudic: the former is found in *Ḥagígâh*, fol. 16, and *Taanith*, fol. 11 ('The very members of a man bear witness against him'). The latter idea is found in *Sakkah*, fol. 29 ('Whenever a people is punished for idolatry, the beings honoured by them as gods shall also be punished, for so it is written, on all the gods also of Egypt will I inflict judgments'). In *Berákhôth* (*Jeru. Tal.*), fol. 12 *b*, col. 1, it is said: 'Idols will be a cause of shame on the Day of Judgment, to those who made them.

After the Judgement all must pass over Aṣ-Ṣirâṭ, 'the Road'[2] or 'the Bridge' which is suspended over

As-Sirat, 'the Bridge,' over which all must pass, after the Judgment

Hell, and which Tradition says is 'sharper than the edge of a sword,' and 'finer than a hair.' Believers, guided by the Angels, will cross in safety into Paradise, but the unbelievers will slip, and fall headlong into Hell.

It is unnecessary to discuss in detail the cogency of Muḥammad's arguments with the Quraish, in order to

[1] Cf. 2 Peter iii. 8. Muḥammad appears to have been fairly well acquainted with the Psalms, although there is only one direct quotation from them, in the Qur'ân, viz. Sûratu'l-Anbiyâ' (xxi) 105 ('The righteous shall inherit the earth'), which is from Psalm xxxvii. 29; this is, moreover, the only direct quotation from the entire Bible.

[2] Sûratu'ṣ-Ṣâffât (xxxvii) 23; Sûratu Yâ Sîn (xxxvi) 66. The Qur'ân calls it a 'Road,' or a 'Way'; Tradition speaks of it as a 'Bridge.' Al-Ghazâlî says, 'It is a bridge stretched over the back of Hell, sharper than a sword, finer than a hair. The feet of the unbelievers slip upon it, by the decree of God, and they fall into the fire; but the feet of believers stand firm upon it, by the grace of God, and so they pass into the Abiding Abode.' *Iḥyâ' 'ulúmu'd-Dín*, vol. ii.

Pagan Arabs' belief in the Resurrection

prove the resurrection of the body.[1] In 'the days of Ignorance,' the Pagan Arabs had a dim conception of a resurrection, as evidenced by their custom of tying a camel near the grave of the dead. This Arab custom, and the belief underlying it, were, doubtless, known to Muḥammad. But the fuller comprehension of the doctrine of the Resurrection, and its expression as set forth by Muḥammad in the Qur'án, were, undoubtedly, derived from Jewish and Christian teaching. The *Talmud* is full of references to it: *Rósh Hashsháñáh*, fol. 17*b*, 'Those who deny the Resurrection of the dead . . shall go down into Hell'; *Kethúbóth*, fol. 111*b*, 'The dead will arise in the garments in which they were buried'; also passages in *Kiddúshin*, fol. 39*b*; *Emek Hammelech*, fol. 132*b*; *Berákhóth* (*Jeru. Tal.*), fol. 13*b*, col. 2. Muḥammad also follows the Jewish Rabbis in referring to the effect of rain on a dead country, as illustrating the power of God in raising the dead. Súratu'l-Qáf (l) 9, 11: 'We send down the rain from heaven . and life give we thereby to a dead country. So also shall be the Resurrection.' Similarly, in Súratu'l-A'ráf (vii) 55. Cf. *Berákhóth*, fol. 33 (in which rain is associated with the Resurrection), and *Taanith*, fol. 1. In *Ḥagígáh*, fol. 9*b*, it is said that Arabóth (the seventh Heaven) contains, with other things, 'The dew with which the Holy One . . is about to quicken mortals.'

The doctrine of the Resurrection, borrowed from Judaism and Christianity

Talmudic references

According to the Qur'án, the Resurrection will extend to all creatures,[2] viz. to Angels, Jinn, and animals, as well as to men. The animals, after obtaining retribution for injuries done to them, will become dust.

The Resurrection will extend to all creatures

[1] The Quraish objected, 'Who will bring us back?' Muḥammad replied, 'He Who created you at first' [Súratu Bani Isrá'íl (xvii) 53.] See also Súratu Maryam (xix) 67, 68; Súratu Yá Sín (xxxvi) 78, 79; Súratu'l-Qiyámat (lxxv) 40; Súratu'n-Názi'át (lxxix) 10-14.

[2] Súratu'l-An'ám (vi) 38.

There is much more taught in Muslim Traditions concerning the Resurrection, and the Day of Judgement, to which it is unnecessary here to refer.

The Jewish and Christian Scriptures, and the Talmud, are the chief sources of the Qur'anic teaching concerning the Resurrection and the Day of Judgement

With regard, now, to the sources of these ideas and expressions concerning the Resurrection and the Day of Judgement, which are contained in the Qur'án and Muslim Traditions, as many, or most, of them are so manifestly borrowed from the Jewish or Christian Scriptures, there is little difficulty in tracing them to their origin. We have already indicated the sources of some features of the doctrine, as we dealt with them, in passing. We have seen that the expressions which Muḥammad used to designate the Day of Judgement, viz. the Hour,' 'the Day,' are New Testament ones, and occur in several of the Canonical Gospels,[1] and his statement that 'the Hour' is known only to God, is also taken from the New Testament,[2] or, indeed, it may have been obtained from the allusion in the Book of Zechariah (chap. xiv. 7) to the 'Day' of Christ's Coming, 'which shall be known to the Lord.' There is also a reference to the 'speedy coming' of 'the Hour' in Súratu'sh-Shúrá (xlii) 17, which is, in some respects, similar to one in Isaiah v. 19.[3] And the idea of the Judgement, together with the record of men's deeds kept in books out of which they shall be judged, may have been derived either from the Book of Daniel,[4] or from the Apocalypse.[5]

Moreover, the appearance of the Beast,[6] the smoke that is to fill the earth,[7] and the reference to Gog

[1] *Injíl*, Matt. xxiv. 36; xxv. 13; Mark xiii. 32; John v. 25; Rev. vi. 17; xvi. 14; cf. Isa. xiii. 9 ('The day of the Lord'); Malachi iv. 1 ('The day'). [2] *Injíl*, Matt. xxiv. 36; Mark xiii. 32.

[3] 'They who believe not, challenge its speedy coming' [Súratu'sh-Shúrá, (xlii) 17]. 'They say, let Him make speed His work. that we may know it' (Isa. v. 19).

[4] 'The Judgement was set, and the books opened' (Dan. vii. 10). [5] Rev. xx. 12, 13.

[6] Rev. xiii. 1-8, 11-17; cf. Daniel vii. 7, 11.

[7] Rev. ix. 2; cf. Joel ii. 30; Acts ii. 19.

and Magog,[1] are all contained in the Book of Revelation.

The Beast is also mentioned in the Book of Daniel (vii. 7, 11), and the smoke by the Prophet Joel (ii. 30).

Borrowings from the Old and New Testament Scriptures anent the Resurrection, and the Day of Judgment

God's Judgement upon Gog and Magog, their overthrow, and the burning of their weapons for seven years, are referred to in the thirty-ninth chapter of Ezekiel. There is also an ancient Jewish and Christian legend which connects Gog and Magog with the end of the world.[2]

The decay of faith,[3] and great distress[4] in the world, the coming of Anti-Christ,[5] the descent of Jesus upon the earth,[6] are indicated in several books of the New Testament; and the era of universal peace and plenty, which is to follow Christ's Advent, is clearly borrowed from Isaiah's description of the Millennial reign of Christ upon earth.[7] The blowing of the trumpet at the Resurrection[8] is also taught in the New Testament, but Muḥammad appears to have followed the Jewish belief that the trumpet will sound more than once.

Muhammad did not borrow directly from the Old and New Testament Scriptures, but obtained his information largely through hearsay

The reward which, at the Judgement, will be given according to one's works, is mentioned in several Books of the Old and New Testaments.[9] But it must not be supposed that Muḥammad borrowed these ideas of the Resurrection and the

[1] Rev. xx. 3; cf. Ezekiel xxxviii. 2, 3; xxxix. 1.

Pseudojon on Lev. xxvi. 44; *vide* Rev. xx. 8. There are also references to Gog and Magog in the *Talmud*; *Sanhedrīn*, fol. 94*a*; and *Berākhōth*, fol. 7*b*; and fol. 13*a*. The wars of Gog and Magog figure prominently in Jewish eschatology.

[3] *Injīl*, Luke xviii. 8; Matt. xxiv. 12; 2 Thess. ii. 3; 1 Tim. iv. 1.

Injīl, Matt. xxiv. 7-10; Mark xiii. 8, 19, 20; Luke xxi. 23, 25.

Injīl, Matt. xxiv. 24; 2 Thess. ii. 3-10 (The 'man of sin').

[6] *Injīl*, Matt. xxiv. 30; Mark xiii. 26; 1 Thess. iv. 16; 2 Thess. 10; Rev. i. 7; cf. Job xix. 25. [7] Isaiah ix. 1-9.

[8] *Injīl*, Matt. xxiv. 31; 1 Cor. xv. 52; 1 Thess. iv. 16; cf. Zechariah ix. 14. According to Maracci the idea of the two blasts may have been derived from 1 Thess. iv. 16 ('The voice of the archangel, and the trump of God').

[9] Job xxxiv. 11; *Zabūr*, Psalm lxii. 12; Jer. xvii. 10; *Injīl*, Matt. xvi. 27; Rev. ii. 23; xx. 12, 13; xxii. 12.

Day of Judgement directly from the Old and New Testament Scriptures. We have seen[1] that there is no evidence to prove that these Scriptures had been translated into Arabic before Muḥammad's time. And as many of the Qur'ánic references to these doctrines, and to other Scriptural subjects, differ in form from the original Scriptural passages, we are led to conclude that Muḥammad did not acquire his knowledge of the Old and New Testaments from the written Records, but obtained it largely, if not altogether, by hearsay. This, of course, would account for the anachronisms[2] to be found in the Qur'án, and also for the discrepancies that occur between the Sacred Records and the Qur'ánic version of them. We must also remember, in this connection, that it was Muḥammad's usual custom to disguise his borrowings, and never to repeat his information in the same language in which he heard it.[3] It would appear, moreover, that his informants, whoever they may have been, were better acquainted with Talmudic lore, and apocryphal writings (which contain many references to the Resurrection, and the Day of Judgement), than with the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testaments.

Muhammad disguised his borrowings

His informants were better acquainted with the Talmud, than with the Canonical Scriptures

There are other Scriptural ideas and expressions reproduced in the Qur'án with reference to this time, viz. 'The passing away of the mountains';[4] 'The stars falling';[5] 'The Heaven shall be stripped

Other Scriptural expressions used in the Qur'an

[1] Chapter i. p. 10, and n. 4.

[2] The Virgin Mary is confounded with Miriam, the sister of Aaron—Súratu Maryam (xix) 29; Haman is made contemporary with Pharaoh—Súratu'l-Qaṣaṣ (xxviii) 5; the Samaritans are referred to as existing in the time of Moses—Súratu Ṭá Há (xx) 87, 90.

[3] *Vide* Chap. v. p. 57, n. 4. Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, p. 875 (contribution by D. S. Margoliouth).

[4] Súratu'n-Naml (xxvii) 90; Súratu'l-Kahf (xviii) 45; Súratu'l-Qári'a (ci) 4; cf. Rev. vi. 14; xvi. 20; Jer. iv. 24; *Injíl*, Matt. xxiv. 35.

[5] Súratu't-Takwír (lxxxi) 2; Súratu'l-Infiṭár (lxxxii) 2; cf. *Injíl*, Matt. xxiv. 29; Mark xiii. 25; Rev. vi. 13; Isa. xiii. 10; xxxiv. 4; Joel iii. 15.

away ';[1] 'The Sun shall be folded up ';[2] and 'The earth and the mountains shall be shaken ';[3] all these indicate how much Muḥammad was indebted to Christianity, and, in a lesser degree, to Judaism for much of his eschatological teaching.

The animals also appear at the Judgment; a Talmudic idea

The assembling of the animals,[4] on the Day of Judgement, which are referred to in the Qur'án as a folk[5] or people, and similarly described in the Book of Proverbs,[5] is mentioned in the *Babylonian Talmud*;[6] and there is also a reference to their Judgement in Ezekiel.[6]

The 'Balance,' in which good and bad deeds are weighed, is a Jewish idea; and is referred to in the Talmud

The 'Balance, or scales, mentioned in the Qur'án,[7] in which the good and bad deeds, or their records, will be weighed on the Day of Judgement, is a Jewish idea, and occurs frequently in the *Talmud*;[8] 'In the *balances* they will go up;' 'He who is full of compassion will incline *the scale of justice* to the side of mercy.' The *Talmud*, doubtless, got the idea from the Old Testament, in several Books of which it occurs.[9] There is also a well-known reference in the Book of Daniel[10] to the weighing of Belshazzar 'in the balances,' from which the Talmudic idea may have arisen; but the 'setting' of the picture in Daniel is different from that of the Qur'án.

[1] Súratu't-Takwír (lxxxi) 11; cf. Rev. vi. 14; Isa. xxxiv. 4. Rodwell (*Koran*, p. 45, n. 4) says, that the idea in Súratu't-Takwír (lxxxi) 11 'is perhaps borrowed from the *Sept. V.* of Psa. civ. 2.'

[2] *Ibid.* (lxxxi), 1; cf. *Injíl*, Matt. xxiv. 29; Mark xiii. 24; (Luke xxi. 25); Isa. xiii. 10; Joel ii. 10; iii. 15.

[3] Súratu'l-Muzzammil (lxxiii) 14; cf. references under [2] (except the last); Joel iii. 16; Luke xxi. 26.

[4] Súratu't-Takwír (lxxxi) 5.

Súratu'l-An'ám (vi) 38; cf. Prov. xxx. 25, 26.

[6] *Bab. Talmud, Erchin*, fol. 3 ('In the Day to come all the beasts will assemble'). Ezek. xxxiv. 17. [7] *Vide ante*, p. 74, and n. 2.

[8] Tr. *Rósh Hashshánáh*, fol. 17*a*; *Taanith* (*Jer. Tal.*); *vide ante, ibid.*

[9] Job vi. 2; xxxi. 6; *Zabúr*, Psalms lxii. 9; Prov. xvi. 11; Isaiah xl. 12, 15; Dan. v. 27 Hosea xii. 7; also Rev. vi. 5.

[10] Daniel v. 27.

Also referred to in 'The Testament of Abraham' which is of Egyptian origin; and its ideas were probably communicated to Muhammad by Mary, his Coptic concubine

There is a striking resemblance between the description of the 'Balance' given in the Qur'án and Muslim Traditions, and that contained in an apocryphal work called *The Testament of Abraham*,[1] which we have already referred to (pp. 41, 77). This book appears to have been written in Egypt, in the second or third century of our era, by a Jewish convert to Christianity, and as there is an Arabic version of it, its contents would become known in Arabia. There can be, therefore, little doubt that Muḥammad was acquainted with the book, or at least with some of the ideas which it contained. Moreover, it is very probable, as the work originated in Egypt, that Muḥammad obtained these ideas, one of which was that of the 'Balance,' from Mary, his Coptic concubine, whom the Negus of Abyssinia sent to him, with other gifts.

In this work Abraham is said to witness the weighing of the soul's good and bad deeds in a 'Balance' held by an angel before the Throne at the Judgement.

The 'Balance' is also referred to in Zoroastrian mythology

The idea of the 'Balance' in which men's actions are weighed after death, is also contained in Mazdayasnian mythology. In an old Pahlaví work,[2] Rashnu, the angel of Justice and one of the three judges of the dead, holds the 'Balance' in which men's deeds

[1] *The Testament of Abraham*, cap. xii. p. 91. Besides the reference to the 'Balance,' there are several other matters mentioned in this work which Muḥammad and his followers seem to have borrowed and incorporated into Islám, e.g., 'The two recording angels'; 'The two angels who attend every soul at the Judgement;' the scene that Muḥammad gazed upon when he entered the lowest Heaven, during the Mi'ráj, or his celebrated Night Journey.

[2] *Mínók-i-khard* (*Spirit of Wisdom*), ii. 120,121 (tr. West); *vide* (*Rashnu*) *Yasht*, xii; *Yasna*, xxxiii. 1; xlviii. 8.

'Pahlaví' is the term generally applied to the language of the inscriptions of the Sássánian dynasty, whether on rocks or coins. The name is now given to 'ancient Persian' in general. Pahlaví works are of two kinds, viz., translations from the *Avestá*; and writings of which there is no Avestan original extant. The *Mínók-i-khard* is of the latter class. See Haug's excellent chapters on the Pahlaví Language and Literature, *Essays on the Pársís*, pp. 78-115.

are weighed after death ; 'He makes no unjust balance . . neither for the pious nor yet the wicked, neither for lords nor yet rulers ; as much as a hair's breadth he will not vary, and he shows no favour.' This Persian idea was doubtless current among the Arabs in Muḥammad's time, and would be, therefore, known to the Prophet.

But this idea of a 'Balance,' in which men's good and bad deeds are weighed after death, is also a very old Egyptian one. It is contained in the representation of the 'Judgement Scene' in the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*. This book is very ancient. Dr. Budge says, 'It is . . as old as Egyptian civilisation, and . . its sources belong to prehistoric times, to which it is impossible to assign a date. . . If we accept one tradition, which was current in Egypt as early as B.C. 2,500, we are right in believing that certain parts of it are, in their present form, as old as the time of the First Dynasty.'[1] This book was regarded by the ancient Egyptians as a guide to the next world, and it was supposed to contain the secrets of the life to come; when a man died chapters of it were engraven on the walls of his tomb and on his coffin, and a copy of it was buried with his mummy in order to guide the soul on its journey thither.

It is also represented in the 'Judgement Scene' of the Egyptian Book of the Dead'

From the foregoing remarks we conclude that the ultimate source of Muḥammad's idea of the 'Balance' is to be found in ancient Egyptian mythology ; and while there was a somewhat similar conception in Zoroastrian mythology, it is evident that Muḥammad obtained the idea from the apocryphal work called *The Testament of Abraham*, which was composed originally in Egypt, and which says that Abraham saw every soul and its deeds weighed in a 'Balance' at the Judgement.

The ultimate source of the Qur'anic 'Balance' is ancient Egyptian mythology; but Muhammad got the idea from 'The Testament of Abraham'

Al-A'ráf, 'the Partition' or 'Wall' or 'Veil' (as it is variously called), which is said, in the Qur'án,[2] to

[1] *The Book of the Dead*, vol. iii. p. xlvii.
[2] Súratu'l-A'ráf (vii) 44-46.

Al-A'raf, 'the Partition' between Heaven and Hell,

exist between Paradise and Hell, where those dwell whose good and evil deeds are equal, and who, therefore, enter neither Heaven nor Hell, corresponds to a similar idea which is contained in *The Testament of Abraham*,[1]

is contained in 'The Testament of Abraham'

In this work it is said that Abraham saw, after the soul's deeds had been weighed in the 'Balance,' that those whose good deeds just equalled their evil ones were admitted to neither Heaven nor Hell, but were kept in a place midway between the two.

A similar idea is found in the *Talmud*. In *Rôsh Hashshánáh*, fol. 16*b*, we read: 'There are three divisions

And in the Talmud

of mankind at the Resurrection; the wholly righteous, the completely wicked, and *the intermediate class.*' In the same tract (*R. Hash.* fol. 16*b*), it is said: 'Three books are opened on New Year's Day; one for the perfectly wicked, one for the perfectly righteous, and one for *an intermediate class of persons.*' And in the *Midrásh* on Eccles. vii. 14, when answering the question, 'How much space is there between them?' (Heaven and Hell), Rabbí Yohánán said, 'A wall': Rabbí Akháh said, 'A span.' 'And the Rabbís say that they are both near one another, so that rays of light pass from this to that'; and 'a person may see from one into the other.' The Talmudic idea may have been derived from the Gospel parable of Dives and Lazarus, according to which there is 'a great gulf fixed' between the place of torment and the abode of the Blessed.[2]

Tracing the source of this idea of a 'mid-world' further back, we find that Zarathuštra also taught it in

And also in the Avesta, which seems to be the ultimate source of the idea

the *Avestá*, which seems to be the ultimate source of the conception of an intermediate place, or 'limbo of those whose merits and demerits balance.' We have seen that Zoroastrianism contained the idea of the 'Balance' in which the soul's actions are weighed

[1] *The Testament of Abraham*, p. 114.
[2] *Injíl* (Luke) xvi. 26.

after death. The weighing of actions is a fundamental idea in the eschatology of Zarathuśtra, although, as Moulton points out in *The Treasure of the Magi*, p. 35, 'there is only one direct mention of it in the *Gathas*' (*Yasna*, xlviii. 8),[1] 'and the crucial word there has to be rendered by conjecture.' The idea, however, is contained in later Avestic teaching (See *ante*, p. 84). Now, holding this belief of the weighing of actions, it was natural that the question should present itself to the mind of the Iranian Prophet, 'What shall be the destiny of those whose merits and demerits balance?' Accordingly, in *Yasna*, xxxiii. 1, it is taught that: 'As it is with the laws that belong to the present life, so shall the Judge act with the most just deed towards the man of the Lie, and the man of the Right, and him whose false things and good things balance.'[2] And the 'separate place' which is reserved for those 'whose false things and good things balance' is indicated in *Yasna*, xlviii. 4: 'Whoso, O Mazdá, makes his thought now better, now worse, and likewise his self by action and by word, and follows his own inclinations, wishes, and choices, he shall in thy purpose be in a *separate place* at the last.'[2]

According to the Avesta there is a 'separate place,' at the last, for those 'whose false things and good things balance'

The same idea is contained in *Yasna*, xxxiii. 1: 'Deeds most just he will do towards the wicked, as towards the righteous, *and towards him whose deeds of fraud and righteous deeds combine* (*in equal measure*).'[3]

Avestan references to this 'separate place' of souls after death

[1] Moulton's version of this passage is: 'Is the possession of thy good Dominion, Mazdâh, is that of thy Destiny assured to me, Ahurâ? Will thy manifestation, O thou Right, be welcome to the pious, even *the weighing of actions* by the Good Spirit? Mill's translation (*The Zend-Avestá*, Part iii. p. 157) does not bring out this idea.

[2] Moulton's translation, *The Treasure of the Magi*, p. 36.

[3] Mills gives this translation, following the Pahlaví and Roth. He, however, is inclined to render it differently. 'But,' he says, 'if Roth and the Pahlaví are right, we have here the origin of the later hamēstaga, the souls in the intermediate place between Heaven and Hell, whose sins and good works have been equal.' *The Zend-Avestá*, Part iii. p.72, n. 3.

The *Vendîdâd* has a similar notion in *Fargand* xix. 122: 'I praise the mid-world,[1] the self-created.'

The ultimate source of Muhammad's idea of Al-A'raf, or 'The Partition,' is the Avesta

From the foregoing it will appear that the Avestan eschatology is, in this respect, somewhat similar to that taught in *The Testament of Abraham*, and also in the *Talmud*. We must, therefore, regard Mazdeism as the ultimate source of Muḥammad's idea of Al-A'râf, or 'The Partition' between Heaven and Hell, in which the souls are placed whose good and bad deeds are equally balanced.

The Muslim As-Sirat, or 'Bridge' over Hell, is borrowed from the bridge Chinvat of the Zoroastrians

We have still to consider the source of Aṣ-Ṣirâṭ, the Muslim 'Road' or 'Bridge' which stretches over Hell, and across which all must pass after the Judgement. The idea is distinctly Zoroastrian, and was borrowed from the Mazdean belief in the existence of the bridge *Chinvaṭ*, or 'bridge of the gatherer, which all must cross before they can enter Paradise. The souls of the pious alone can pass over this bridge, while the wicked fall from it down into Hell.

This bridge *Chinvaṭ*,[2] which Mills renders 'the Judge's Bridge' (*Ys*. xlvi. 11), is frequently mentioned

[1] This is Bleeck's version, which largely follows Professor Spiegal's; vol. i. pp. 142, 144, n. 15. Darmesteter's translation, 'the sovereign place of eternal weal,' does not bring out the meaning so well as Bleeck's 'mid-world;' or Moulton's 'separate place,' in his translation of *Yasna*, xlviii. 4; *The Treasure of the Magi*, p. 36. Haug (*Essays on the Pârsîs* p. 256.) translates the passage in the *Vendîdâd*, *Farg*. xix. 122, as 'the self-created intermediate region (between heaven and hell).'

[2] Also spelled '*Chinvad*,' '*K̲invaṭ*,' '*K̲invad*,' by different writers. Ṣirâṭ is the Persian word *Chinvaṭ* in Arabic characters, which is another indication of the Persian origin of the Muslim idea of this 'Bridge' of the dead. As there is no letter in the Arabic alphabet to represent the sound *ch*, the letter ص (Ṣ), which is the first letter in Ṣirâṭ, is used instead.

The word *Chinvaṭ* means 'gatherer,' or 'collector,' or 'one that sums up' or 'takes account' (the root being equivalent to the Sanskrit √चि). Hence 'Separator.'

The full Avestic name for this bridge is *Chinvatô-peretu*, 'The bridge of him who sums up,' or 'takes account' of the soul's good

Avestan references to the 'Bridge' Chinvat, which only the righteous can pass over

in the *Avestá*, and also in later Pahlaví writings; and it is a very definite Article of belief in the eschatology of the Pársís at the present time. Devout Mazdeans, in accordance with the teaching of the *Mihir Yasht* (x. 5),[1] invoke the angel called Mithra or 'friend' (Mihir in Persian), who is 'the lord of wide pastures,' and one of the three Judges at the 'Bridge,' for a 'good conscience,' that their souls may pass the 'Bridge' in safety, and enter for ever 'The House of Song.' Unto the righteous who keep Truth, and 'lie not unto Mithra,' he gives swift horses (to take their holy course towards Heaven), 'gaining thereby (at last) the Bridges[2] where Your adoration (rules and is complete).' 'As thou dost desire, O holy (one); so shalt thou be, holy shalt thou cause (thy) soul to pass over the *Kinvat* Bridge; holy shalt thou come into Heaven' (*Ys.* lxxi. 16). But the wicked man's 'soul rages fiercely on the open *Kinvat* Bridge, as he strives by his tongue's (cursing speech) to reach (and to pollute) Asha's paths (where the faithful souls come') (*Ys.* li. 13). Such a man

and bad deeds. Hence 'Bridge of the Separator,' as in *Yasna*, xlvi. 10, 'Those whom I impel to Your adoration, with all these will I cross the Bridge of the Separator.'

The 'Separator' is the Supreme Deity, Ahurá Mazdáh, as indicated in 'Before Him Who shall separate the wise and the unwise through Right, His prudent Counsellor, even Mazdáh Ahurá' (*Ys.* xlvi. 17).

This 'Separation' between the righteous and the wicked takes place before the 'Bridge' is passed, although the three Judges of the dead, Rashnu, Mithra, and Sraosha, are said to meet the soul after crossing the 'Bridge,' and judge it in accordance with the account of its good and bad deeds. The wicked, however, never cross, for they fall from it down into Hell—a belief which Islám also borrowed from Zoroastrianism.

The *Búndahishnih* (p. 22, West.), an old Pahlaví work, states that the mountain, 'Chakád-i-Dáítíh, is the middle of the world, the height of a hundred men, on which the *Chinvad* bridge stands, and they take account of the soul at that place.'

[1] Cf. *Farg.*, xviii. 6 (14), in which it is said that the study of the Law will make a man 'cheerful at the head of the . Bridge.'

[2] Mills (*Z-Av.* p. 174, n. 8) says: 'Possibly the extension of the Bridge for the pious arose from the plural use here.' *Ys.* l. 7.

'kills his own soul . , nor shall he find a way over the *K̲invad* Bridge (*Farg*. xiii. 3 (6). And when they approach . . the Bridge . . . (these shall miss their path and fall), and in the Lie's abode for ever shall their habitation be' (*Ys*. xlvi. 11).

There are several other references in the *Avestá*[1] to the *Chinvaṭ* Bridge, and some also in Pahlaví literature.

References to the Chinvat Bridge in Pahlavi works

The *Dínkart*, which is the longest Pahlaví work extant, gives an account of the twenty-one Nasks, or Books which comprised the whole Mazdean Scriptures, and in one of these called the *Dámdád* there is a reference to the gathering and the separation at the *Chinvaṭ* Bridge.

The Dinkart

One more reference may be given concerning the Muslim tradition[2] that *Aṣ-Ṣirát* becomes a broad and safe path for the feet of the righteous, but becomes sharper than a sword and finer than a hair for the feet of the wicked. This is found in the Pahlaví works called *Mínú-khirad*, and *Artá Víráf*.

Minukhirad

The former says 'When the soul of the pious passes over that Bridge, the width of that Bridge becomes about one league.'[3]

Arta Viraf

And the latter says: 'The *K̲invad Bridge* extends over Hell, and leads to Paradise: for the souls of the righteous it widens to the length of nine javelins; for the souls of the wicked it narrows to a thread, and they fall down into Hell.'[4]

It is apparent from the above quotations, that the source of the Muslim idea of *Aṣ-Ṣirát*, or the 'Bridge' over which all souls must pass after death, is the *Avestá*, and later Pahlaví works from which Muslim Tradition derived many details concerning it.

The source of the Muslim 'Bridge,' As-Sirat, is the Avesta

[1] *Farg*. xviii. 6 (14); xix. 29 (94); *Yasht*, xxiv. 27; (note in the last two references the designation of the Bridge by the term 'way,' as in the Qur'án); *Sírózáh*, i. 30; *Visp*. vii. 1; etc.

[2] See *ante*, p. 78, and n. 2.

p. 134 (Westergaard).

Artá Víráf, v. 1.

This conclusion is strengthened by the consideration of the etymology of the word *Ṣirâṭ*, which is not an Arabic word, but is the Persian word *Chinvaṭ* in Arabic characters (see above p. 88, n. 2).

The Zoroastrian origin of As-Sirat is also shown by the etymology of the word, which is the Persian Chinvat

There is a reference to 'the bridge of the gods' in ancient Scandinavian mythology, which indicates the Âryan origin of the legend. Worshippers of the deified forces of the phenomena of Nature, the idea was probably suggested to these old Nature-worshippers by the rainbow or the Milky Way, as the bridge by which the gods passed from heaven to earth. As the Persians would hold this idea in common with them, before they separated, the Zoroastrian *Chinvaṭ*, in all probability, took its origin from this old Âryan myth.

Ultimate Aryan origin of the 'Bridge' Chinvat

Jewish tradition also speaks of a Bridge of Hell, which is described in *Midrâsh Yalkût* as fine as a thread; but only idolators will pass over it, who will fall from it down into Hell. The Jewish idea would be derived from the Persians.

A Bridge of Hell mentioned in Jewish tradition

There is still the Islâmic doctrine of Heaven and Hell to be considered, which is intimately connected with the Muslim belief in the Resurrection and the Day of Judgement. As the present chapter has been somewhat prolonged, we shall consider in a separate chapter the Islâmic teaching concerning Heaven and Hell—the two remaining subjects in Muslim eschatology.

CHAPTER VII

HEAVEN AND HELL

'Verily for the pious is a blissful abode,
Gardens and vineyards,
And damsels and a full cup.'[1]
And the companions of the left hand—
How miserable they !
In scorching blasts and scalding water,
And the shade of smoke.'[2]

THE Qur'án contains many allusions to Heaven and Hell. In all the chief Súras—we might say, in almost every Súra there is some reference to them by Muḥammad. In fact, the terrors of 'the Day,' the threats of Hell-fire for the wicked, and the sensual rewards of the 'Garden' for believers, occupy a more prominent place in the preaching of the Prophet at the commencement of his Mission, than his fundamental doctrine of the Unity of God. About one-sixth part of the Qur'án is taken up with such references to Heaven and Hell.

Seven Heavens and seven Hells mentioned in the Qur'an. An eighth Heaven

According to the Qur'án there are seven abodes or divisions of bliss,[3] one above the other ; and seven regions or 'Portals' of torment,[4] one below the other. There is an eighth[5] abode in Paradise, with a gate leading thereto, which is said to be situated above the seventh Heaven, under the Throne of God.

[1] Súratu'n-Nabá' (lxxviii) 31-34. [2] Súratu'l-Wáqi'a (lvi) 40-42.

[3] Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 27 ; Súratu Bani Isrá'íl (xvii) 46 ; Súratu'l-Mu'minún (xxiii) 17 (lit., 'seven paths,' which is a Talmudic expression); Súratu'l-Fuṣṣilat (xli) 11 ; Súratu'ṭ-Ṭaláq (lxv) 12 ; Súratu'l-Mulk (lxvii) 3; Súratu Núḥ (lxxi) 14; Súratu'n-Nabá' (lxxviii) 12 [The name 'solid heavens' used here is the title given in the *Talmud* to the fifth heaven ; cf. *Berákhóth* (*Jeru. Talmud*), fol. 2, col. 1].

[4] Súratu'l-Ḥijr (xv) 44.

[5] *Mishkátu'l-Maṣábíḥ*, Book VII. Chap. i ("There are eight doors in Paradise, one of which is called Rayyán ').

Different names are given in the Qur'án to these regions,[1] which some commentators interpret as indicating different degrees of felicity of the believer.

Both these Qur'ánic ideas regarding Heaven and Hell were derived from the *Talmud*, or from Jewish tradition based upon it. The former, in reference to Heaven, is found in *Hagígáh*, fol. 9*b*, which says, 'There are seven Heavens the veil (Vilon), the firmament (Rakia), the clouds (Shehakim), the habitation (Zbul), the abode (Maon), the fixed seat (Makhon), the Araboth, or place of glory.' The idea may have arisen from the Old Testament words: 'Behold, unto the Lord thy God belongeth the heaven, and the heaven of heavens' (Deut. x. 14 R.V.).

Derived from the Talmud

The counterpart of the Qur'ánic Hell is found in *Zohar*, which says, 'Hell hath seven gates.'[2] The *Midrásh* on Psalm xi. also says, 'There are seven houses of abode for the wicked in Hell.'

And in the *Talmud* (*Sota*, fol. 10*b*), David is said to have rescued Absalom from 'the seven dwellings of Hell.'[3]

There is a Hindú belief analogous to this mentioned in Sanskrit literature, according to which there are seven lower abodes below the surface of the earth, and seven higher storeys above it.

A Hindu analogous belief

[1] The names applied to Heaven are: Jannatu'l-Khuld (Garden or Paradise of Eternity), Súratu'l-'Furqán (xxv) 16; Jannatu's-Salám (Dwelling of Peace), Súratu'l-An'ám (vi) 127, Súratu Yúnas (x) 26; Dáru'l-Qarár ('Mansion that abideth'), Súratu'l-Mu'min (xl) 42; Jannatu'l-'Adan (Garden of Eden), Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 73, Súratu'r-Ra'd (xiii) 23; Jannatu'l-Má'wa (Garden of Repose), Súratu'n-Najm (liii) 15; Jannatu'n-Na'ím (Place of Delights), Súratu'l-Infiṭár (lxxxii) 13; Jannatu'l Illiyún (Garden of Illiyún), Súratu't-Taṭfíf (lxxxiii) 18; Jannatu'l-Firdaus (Gardens of Paradise), Súratu'l-Kahf (xviii) 107.

The names given to Hell are: Jahannam (Hell), Súratu Maryam (xix) 69, 72; Laẓa (Fire), Súratu'l-Mu'áríj (lxx) 15; Ḥuṭamah (Crushing Fire), Súratu'l-Humaza (civ) 4, 5; Sa'ír (the Flame), Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 11; Saqar (Scorching Fire), Súratu'l-Qamar (liv) 48, Súratu'l-Muddathṯhir (lxxiv) 43; Jaḥím (a Boiling Caldron), Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 113; Háwiya (the Abyss or Pit), Súratu'l-Qári'a (ci) 7.

[2] *Zohar*, ii. 150.

[3] It may be noted here that Sayyid 'Amír 'Alí, in his *Spirit of Islám*, pp. 387, 394, speaks of the Qur'án's 'Talmudic ideas of Hell.'

Zoroastrian references

Seven Karshvares of the earth

There are seven Heavens mentioned in Persian mythology; and the *Avestá* speaks of the 'seven *Karshvares* or regions of the earth.'[1] This and other matters of belief common to the Hindús and Zoroastrians further indicate the common origin of the two races (see pp. 47, 49, 95, n. 2, 96, n. 9).

The Talmudic Heaven

The Talmudic idea of Heaven is, in many respects, similar to that contained in the Qur'án: and the *Avestá* also contributes something to the Muslim Paradise.

The Jews regarded Paradise as a delightful garden reaching to the seventh Heaven,[2] with gates and four rivers of water, wine, milk and honey.[3] One of the Rabbinical names for Paradise was 'the Garden of Eden'; "Rabbi Eliezar used to add at the conclusion of his prayer: 'May it be Thy will, O Lord to set our portion in the Garden of Eden.'" The name 'Eden' frequently occurs in the tractate *Berákhôth* to designate Paradise: 'Grant that we may enjoy happiness in Eden;' 'I work to deserve Eden.' In an apocryphal work called the *Visio Pauli* (Chap. xlv), it is said that Paul, ascending to Heaven, beheld the four rivers of Paradise.[4]

The Zoroastrian Heaven

The *Avestá* speaks of the 'bright, happy, blissful abode'[5] in which the 'soul tastes as much of pleasure as the whole living world can taste':[6] and it refers to the food and oil[7] (or butter) of Paradise, which amid sweet-smelling winds[8]

[1] *Avestá*, *Vend. Farg.*, xix. 13 (42); *Yast*, viii. 9, 33, 40; xix. 31. The ancient Indo-Iranians spoke of seven worlds, which in Persia became the seven *Karshvares* of the earth. These are enumerated in *Farg.*, xix. 39 (120).

[2] *Taanith* (*Gemára*), fol. 25. *Berákhôth*, fol. 34.

Megillah, *Amkôth*, p. 78: *Midrásh Yalkút*.

[4] These correspond with the four rivers which, according to Muḥammadan Tradition, Muḥammad saw during the Mi'ráj, or 'ascent' (his celebrated night journey).

[5] *Sirózáh*, ii. 27; cf. *Yasna*, xxxi. 12 (heavenly abodes); *Fargand*, xix. 36 (122).

[6] *Yast*, xxii. 6. *Ibid.* 18. [8] *Ibid.* 7, 8.

will be supplied to its inmates. It also mentions a beautiful shining maiden as fair as the fairest of maidens, who meets the pure soul in Paradise as the personification of the law of his life—his good thoughts, words and works.[1] There are also the Avestan Pairikas[2] or beautiful maidens, 'nymphs of a fair but erring line,' which become the dark-eyed Ḥúrís of the Muslim Paradise.

Muhammad borrowed from these descriptions, and added vivid pictures of voluptuousness

Muḥammad, borrowing these ideas for his garden of Paradise, wherein are rivers of water, and of milk and wine and honey,[3] and abundant fruits, added to the sensuous delights thereof vivid pictures, of material joy and voluptuousness. Believers will be there clothed in garments of silk, and, reclining upon couches and beautiful carpets,[4] will be served by the Ghilmán[5] or immortal youths of Paradise, with meats and abundant fruits,[6] and wine which does not

Yast. xxii. 9, 11 ; *Farg.* xix. 30 (98).

[2] *Vendîdád, Farg.* i. 10 (36) ; viii. 80 (250) ; xi. 12 (38) ; xx. 10 (25), 12 (29) ; xxi. 19, 21 ; *Yast,* i. 10 ; iii. 5 ; iv. 4 ; v. 13, 22, 50 ; vi. 4 ; viii. 8, 12, 39, 44 ; 34, 59 ; xi. 6 ; xiii. 135 ; xiv. 4, 62 xv. 12 ; xix. 41 ; xvi. 8.

The Pairikas (called, in modern Persian, the París) afterwards became the seduction of idolatry.

The Qur'ánic word 'Ḥúr,' which designates these nymphs, probably comes from the Avestic 'Hvare' (in Pahlaví, Ḥúr, and in modern Persian, Khúr) denoting 'light' or 'sunshine.' Belief in the existence of these heavenly maidens is of Áryan origin, as the Avestic Pairikas correspond with the Hindú Apsarasas (creatures of light), mentioned in Sanskrit literature, which inhabit स्वर्ग (Svarga), the sky or Indra's Heaven. This is another indication that the Iranians are of Áryan origin with the Hindús.

Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 13 ; Súratu Yúnas (x) 9 ; Súratu'r-Ra'd (xiii) 35 ; Súratu Muḥammad (xlvii) 16, 17 ; Súratu'dh-Dhárayát (li) 15 ; Súratu'ṭ-Ṭúr (lii) 22 ; Súratu'r-Raḥmán (lv) 50, 52, 66, 68 ; Súratu'l-Wáqi'a (lvi) 30, 31.

[4] Súratu Yá Sín (xxxvi) 56 ; Súratu'r-Raḥmán (lv) 54, 76 ; Súratu'l-Wáqi'a (lvi) 15, 16.

[5] Súratu'ṭ-Ṭúr (lii) 24 ; Súratu'l-Wáqi'a (lvi) 17, 18.

[6] 'Unfailing,' 'unforbidden' ; Súratu'l-Wáqi'a (lvi) 31, 32. There is an allusion here to the 'forbidden' fruit of the tree of knowledge in the terrestrial Paradise.

intoxicate or cause headache.[1] For companions they will have the dark-eyed Ḥúrís[2] or beautiful virgins of Paradise. In brief, 'whatsoever they shall desire awaiteth them with their Lord.'[3]

The tree 'Tuba' in Muslim Paradise

The Muslim Paradise also contains the tree of 'goodness' called 'Túbá,' which corresponds to the tree of life mentioned in the Book of Genesis. Muslim tradition, in describing this tree, has evidently borrowed from Jewish legends.[4]

Similar to the tree Hvapa mentioned in Avesta

In the *Avestá* there is mentioned a wonderful tree called Hvápa[5] and also Gaokerena[6]—the tree of all good remedies,[7] growing in the midst of the sea Vouru-Kasha and surrounded by ten thousand healing plants. Whosoever eats (or drinks) of this tree will, at the resurrection, become immortal.[8]

And the tree Pakshajati of Hinduism

Hindúism has also a tree called Pakshajati, growing in the garden of Indra's heaven, and bearing a fruit named Amrita, which confers immortality upon those who eat thereof.[9]

[1] Súratu'ṣ-Ṣáffát (xxxvii) 44, 46.

[2] Súratu'ṣ-Ṣáffát (xxxvii) 47 ; Súratu'ṭ-Ṭúr (lii) 20 ; Súratu'r-Raḥmán (lv) 56, 70-74 ; Súratu'l-Wáqi'a (lvi) 22, 34.

[3] Súratu'l-Furqán (xxv) 17 ; Súratu Yá Sín (xxxvi) 57 ; Súratu'sh-Shúrá (xlii) 21 ; Súratu'ṭ-Ṭúr (lii) 22, Súratu'l-Qáf (l) 34.

[4] In *Berákhôth* (*Jeru. Tal.*), fol 2*b*, col. 1, it is said : 'The tree of life was of such a length that it would have taken five hundred years to go over it' R. Juda said '. . the trunk itself is of this length' ; cf. *Targum* of Jonathan. The Muslims, confounding this tree with the tree of knowledge, say that when it presented itself to Adam, tempting him to eat of it, he rose to his full height of '*500 years journey*' to avoid it. But the tree, growing, kept on a level with his mouth. *Qisasu'l-Anbiyá*, p. 17.

[5] *Vend. Farg.* v. 58. [6] *Vend. Farg.* xx. 4 (17). [7] *Yast*, xii. 17.

[8] *Bundahis*, xlii. 12 ; lix. 9, 4. *Vide Avestá*, vol. i, Intro. iv. 28, p. lxix (Darmesteter). There are two Haomas one is yellow and earthly, and is used in sacrifice (*Bund.* lviii, 10), and the other is the 'white Haoma' or 'Gaokerena,' the tree of eternal life.

[9] This also points to the common origin of the two races. It should be noted that, according to the Muslim belief, the Garden of Eden was situated in Heaven, and hence they transfer many features of the earthly Paradise to the heavenly. They also make no distinction between the tree of life, and the tree of knowledge.

It is apparent from the above that the Muslim conception of the tree, 'Tubá,' was derived partly from Jewish and partly from Zoroastrian sources.

Qur'anic descriptions of Paradise said to be figurative

Attempts have been made by apologists of Islám to show that Muhammad's sensuous descriptions of Paradise are, like the descriptions given in the Apocalypse, merely figurative. These attempts have been made chiefly by Muslims of high moral tone,[1] who have come under the influence of Western culture and Christian thought. Orthodox Muslim theologians, however, agree that a literal interpretation must be given to these descriptions of Paradise, just as the torments of the wicked in Hell, as described in the Qur'án, are interpreted literally.

Muslim theologians interpret them literally

Muhammad was influenced by the figurative language of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, and of the Talmud

Muhammad, in describing the pleasures of his Qur'ánic Paradise, was doubtless influenced by the figurative language of Scripture and of Talmudic literature,[2] and his conception of rivers and fruit and shade, and the absence of hunger and thirst may have primarily arisen from this source. But while admitting this, it must also be admitted that there is not the shadow of any sensuous thought connected with Heaven as described in the Apocalypse, or in any part of the Christian and Jewish Scriptures. On the contrary, these Scriptures distinctly teach the abrogation in Heaven of all earthly relationship; 'For in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in Heaven' (*Injíl*, Matt. xxii. 30).

[1] e.g. Mírzá Ghulám Ahmad. *vide* his *Teaching of Islám*, pp. 118, 134-42, 158; cf. *ibid.* pp. 78, 103, 175, 176, 183.

[2] *Vide Mishnáh Abóth*, iv. 17; Muhammad also describes the difficulty of entering Paradise in terms similar to those of the New Testament, and of the *Talmud*; Súratu'l-A'ráf (vii) 38: 'Nor shall they enter Paradise until the camel passeth through the eye of the needle;' cf. *Injíl*, Matt. xix. 24; Mark x. 25; Luke xviii. 25. The Jewish Rabbis substituted 'the elephant' for 'the camel' (כְּמָא דְמָעֵיל פִּילָא בְּקָפָא דְמַחְטָא)

His sensuous descriptions of Paradise are his own

The sensuous portions of Muḥammad's Paradise must, therefore, be traced to the Prophet's own sensuous disposition.

It should be noted that these sensuous descriptions of Paradise come in the Meccan or earlier Súras of the Qur'án, when Muḥammad had only one wife many years older than himself. In all the Madína Súras, which extend over a period of ten years after the Ḥijra (or flight from Mecca), women are only mentioned twice[1] as one of the joys of Paradise, and in these simple words, 'Therein shall they have wives of stainless purity.'

They appear in the Meccan or earlier Suras

Muḥammad's temperate life at Mecca was probably owing to the influence of his wife, Khadíjah, to whom he was indebted for a certain amount of affluence, but who retained in her own hands the disposal of her wealth.

Reasons for absence of these descriptions in Madina Suras

The absence in the Madína Súras of these descriptions of the carnal joys of Paradise which occur in the Meccan 'revelations' may be accounted for by Muḥammad's closer contact with Judaism, and his consequent higher moral perceptions. Or, perhaps, the reason may be his own satiety, having enjoyed these pleasures to the full, and without restriction, in Madína.

Two months after Khadíjah's death, he was married to Sauda, the widow of Sakran, and also betrothed to 'Âyesha, then a girl of six or seven years of age, to whom he was married three years later.

Muhammad's moral character

Legends have been invented to show how Muḥammad, when a young man shepherding his flocks by the mountain side, was miraculously preserved from sin when he repaired to the town at night to enjoy forbidden pleasures. Physicians have, moreover, drawn an inference concerning his moral character, from the death of

[1] Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 23; Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 60.

all his sons in infancy,[1] and of all his daughters at, or before they had attained to, middle age.

With regard now to the seven 'portals or regions of Hell, we have seen (p. 93) that Muḥammad borrowed this idea from the *Talmud*, whose descriptions of Hell correspond in several respects with those in the Qur'án. Muḥammad also speaks of an accursed tree[2] which cometh up from the bottom of Hell, whose foul or bitter fruit the wicked shall eat amid pestilential winds:[3] their drink shall be boiling water and filthy corruption.[4]

The Qur'anic Hell and its Tree

The tree of Paradise may have suggested to Muḥammad his tree of Hell: or he may have been indebted for the idea to Jewish tradition, which teaches that bitter, herbaceous food is one of the punishments of Hell.[5]

The Zoroastrian idea of Hell as contained in the *Avestá*, with which Muḥammad was doubtless acquainted, would also influence him in describing this place of torment.

The Zoroastrian Hell

The Magians believed in seven apartments of Hell,[6] which in the *Gathas* is described as 'the worst existence,'[7] 'the house of the lie,'[8] or 'of the worst thought.'[9] There the soul of the wicked 'tastes as much of suffering as the whole of the living world can taste.'[10] It is an impure place,[11] full of stench,[11] foul and poisonous food[12] is given, and amid a foul and evil-

[1] Súratu'l-Kauthar (cviii) is directed against those who taunted Muḥammad with the death of all his sons in early infancy.

[2] Ez-Zaqqúm. Súratu Bani Isrá'il (xvii) 62; Súratu'ṣ-Ṣáffát (xxxvii) 60, 62-64; Súratu'd-Dukhán (xliv) 43; Súratu'l-Wáqi'a (lvi) 52.

[3] Súratu'l-Wáqí'a (lvi) 41.

[4] Súratu'ṣ-Ṣáffát (xxxvii) 65; Súratu'l-Waqí'a (lvi) 54.

[5] *Vide* Schroder's *Rabb. Und. Talm. Judenthum*, p. 403.

[6] Hyde, *De Rel. Vet. Pers.* p. 245.

[7] Or 'the worst life,' *Yasna*, xxx. 4.

[8] *Yasna*, xlvi. 11; li. 14; xlix. 11. Also called 'House of Destruction' (Dragodemána).

[9] Or 'the worst mind,' *Yasna*, xxxii. 13; xxx. 6.

[10] *Yast*, xxii. 4. [11] *Yast*, xxii. 25.

[12] *Yast*, xxii. 36; *Yasna*, xxxi. 20; xlix. 11.

smelling wind, the soul dwells in darkness in the lie's abode.

One passage from the *Gathas* may be quoted in this connection: 'But those that are of an evil dominion, of evil deeds, evil words, evil self and evil thought, men of the lie, the souls go forth to meet them with foul food: in the house of the lie they shall be meet inhabitants.'[1]

The punishment of the wicked is eternal; also the reward of the righteous

This retribution is eternal for the 'man of the lie,' as the joy of the righteous is eternal in the 'House of song;'[2] 'In immortality shall the soul of the righteous be happy, in perpetuity the torments of the man of the lie.'[3]

Besides the Talmudic descriptions of Hell, which Muḥammad largely copied, he had also these descriptions of the Gathic Hell from which he could borrow for his Qur'ánic teaching on this subject.

The Jews' 'Prince of Hell.'

The Talmud speaks of a 'Prince of Hell,'[4] whom the Jewish Rabbís called שׂר שׁל גיהנם. The *Avestá* also mentions an angel or genius of fire who is called *Ádhar* (or *Átar*).[5] But fire, according to the *Avestá*, is one of the sacred elements,[6] and is not, therefore, one of the instruments of torture in Hell.

The Avestic Adhar, or Angel of Fire

The Jewish 'Prince of Hell' would furnish Muḥammad with the idea of the angel Málik, who is mentioned in

Yasna, xlix. 11; *Yasna*, xxxi. 20.

Garó-demána (*Garotmán* in later Persian), which is the home of Ahurá Mazdá, and of 'the Blessed' (*Ys.* li. 15). cf. Christina Rossetti's beautiful phrase, 'the home-land of music'; also the home of 'the new song' in the Apocalypse.

3 *Yasna*, xlv. 7; cf. *Yasna*, xlvi. 11.

Vide Rabbí 'Aqîbá's *Ōthióth*, viii., 1 'The Prince of Hell saith daily, 'Give me food enough;' cf. Súratu-l-Qáf (L) 29; *Midrásh Yalkút*, Pt. II, fol. 116.

5 *Yast*, x. 127 ii. 4, 9; xix. 45-50; xxiv. 26, 40, 59; *Sirózáh*, i. 9; ii. 9; *Yasna*, xlvii. 6 ('By thy Fire').

6 *Fargand*, v. 9 (29); *vide ante*, p. 39, note 4.

The Muslim Malik, or chief angel-guardian of Hell, was derived from the Jews' 'Prince of Hell'

Súratu'z-Zukhruf (xliii) 77, and who is regarded by Muslims as chief of the nineteen angel-guardians of the fire [Súratu'l-Muddaththir (lxxiv) 30, 31]. In the former passage he is appealed to by those in the torments of Hell: 'O Málik! would that thy Lord would make an end of us?' And he replies: 'Here must ye remain.'

We have already seen[1] that Muḥammad borrowed this angel's name from a Canaanitish deity called Molech, to whom human sacrifices were offered by burning.

Gradations of punishment, and its eternality, borrowed from Judaism and Christianity

Degrees of punishment in Hell,[2] which the Qur'án teaches, and its eternality,[3] are New Testament ideas. They are also taught in the *Avestá*;[4] or rather the latter doctrine is expressly taught, and the former indirectly, in the weighing of merits and demerits at the 'Bridge.' The imagery of Zarathuśtra, as Moulton points out (*Treasure of the Magi*, p. 38), leaves little room for gradations of punishment.

Both believers and unbelievers will descend to Hell, but no true Muslim will remain there for ever

The Qur'án also teaches that believers as well as unbelievers will go down to Hell,[5] but that no true believer in Islám will remain in Hell for ever. The 'Faithful' will be ultimately released after expiating their sins.[6] We have dealt with this question at some length, in the last chapter (pp. 75-77), and to what has been already said, we need only add here that the Jews had a similar belief that no Jew would remain in Hell, but for a short time.[7] That

[1] Chapter iv. p. 38.

[2] Súratu'l-Furqán (xxv) 69; Súratu'l-An'ám (vi) 129; Súratu'l-A'ráf (vii) 3.

[3] Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 75; Súratu'l-An'ám (vi) 128; Súratu Húd (xi) 109; Súratu'l-Furqán (xxv) 66; Súratu'l-Fáṭir (xxxv) 33.

[4] *Yasna*, xlv. 7; xlvi. 11.

[5] Súratu Maryam (xix) 72.

[6] Súratu Maryam (xix) 73.

[7] *Erubin*, fol. 19*a*, 'The fires of hell cannot gain access to the bodies of the sinners in Israel. . . The sinner in Israel escapes the fires of hell. . The light (or fire) of Gehinnom does not rule over (or touch) the sons of Israel.'

Muḥammad was acquainted with this Jewish belief, is indicated in Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 74, which reads: 'And they (the Jews) say, 'Hell-fire shall not touch us, but for a few days.' Súratu Ali 'Imrán (iii) 23, is of similar import.

The latter belief borrowed from the Jews

Muḥammad contests this belief of the Jews, and in his reply that: 'Their own devices have deceived them in their religion,'[1] he thus rejects the belief so far as the Jews are concerned, but, in another 'revelation,' he adopts it for the Muslims.

Other Qur'anic references to Hell, which were derived from Jewish, or Christian sources

There are other minor references to Hell in the Qur'án, which were evidently derived from Jewish or Christian sources. In Súratu'l-Qáf (l) 29, on the Day of Judgement, Hell will be asked, 'Art thou full?' and it will reply, 'Is there more?' A somewhat similar statement is contained in the *Ōthiōth* of Rabbí, 'Aqíbá, viii. 1, which we have already referred to (pp. 38, 100, n. 4). The passage reads: 'The Prince of Hell saith daily, "Give me food enough."

Hell is never full

In corroboration of this assertion, the Rabbí quotes the passage in Isaiah v. 14, 'Therefore Hell hath enlarged herself, and opened her mouth without measure.' In Súratu Ali 'Imrán (iii) 102, it is said 'On the day when faces shall turn black! And as to those whose faces shall have turned black taste then the punishment.' This is a Rabbinical idea, and is found in Rósh Hashshánáh, fol. 17*a*: 'Rabbí Isaac b. Abhin says (of those in Hell): Their faces are black like the sides of a caldron.'

Hell will be brought before the seat of Judgment, on the day of the final assize

Our last reference is to Súratu'l-Fajr (lxxxix) 24, And Hell on that day shall be moved up,' i.e., it will be brought to the seat of Judgement on the day of the great and final assize. We need not here discuss the question of the literal or metaphorical interpretation of this passage, which most Muslim commentators

[1] Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 23.

explain literally. Our concern is with its source, and this appears to be the Apocalyptic passage, 'And death and Hell were cast into the lake of fire' (Rev. xx. 14).

Probably suggested by Apocalyptic passage in Rev. xx. 14.

It will be apparent from the foregoing that Muḥammad was indebted largely to Talmudic Judaism, and in a minor degree to Mazdeism, for his Qur'ánic teaching concerning Heaven and Hell, and while the imagery of the eschatology of the Apocalypse may have influenced Muḥammad in describing his Qur'ánic Paradise, there can be no doubt that the grosser and sensual portions of his teaching can only be traced to his own sensuous disposition.

The sources of the Qur'anic descriptions of Heaven and Hell are Talmudic Judaism, Mazdeism, Apocalyptic imagery, and Muhammad's own sensuous disposition

We are aware that some Muḥammadan commentators would dispute the final part of this conclusion. Sayyid 'Amír 'Alí in *The Spirit of Islám*, p. 394, says: 'The descriptions are realistic, in some places almost sensuous; but to say that they are sensual, or that Muḥammad, or any of his followers, even the ultra-literalists, accepted them as such, is a calumny.' To enlightened Muslims, who, like Sayyid 'Amír 'Alí,[1] have come under the influence of Christian teaching, and who have, therefore, adopted a high moral standard of conduct, this explanation of the pleasures of the Muslim Paradise may commend itself, but it is not in harmony with the exegesis of the Maulaví or orthodox Muslim theologians, nor with the general belief of the Muslims with whom the writer is acquainted. The orthodox belief is that the Qur'ánic descriptions of both Heaven and Hell are not allegorical, but must be interpreted literally and this belief derives support from the character of the Arabian Prophet' as it is portrayed in the Qur'án and Muslim traditions.

Sayyid 'Amir 'Ali asserts that the pleasures of the Muslim Paradise are allegorical

This contention is opposed to orthodox teaching, and the general Muslim belief at present

[1] and Mírzá Ghulám Aḥmad; *vide ante*, p. 97, n. 1.

CHAPTER VIII

PREDESTINATION, OR GOD'S DECREE

ALL THINGS HAVE WE CREATED UNDER A FIXED DECREE.'[1]

THE last article of the Muslim faith is Predestination, or God's absolute and eternal decree of good and evil. Muḥammad taught in the Qur'án that whatever happens, be it good or bad, was inevitable, because decreed by God from all eternity, and written on the 'Preserved Tablet' in Heaven. In other words, and to use a time-worn formula, 'God has, from all eternity, according to the good pleasure of His will, foreordained whatsoever comes to pass.'

The Doctrine enunciated

The Qur'án contains many passages which teach this doctrine, and Muslim traditions are as dogmatic in their assertion of it. Great stress was laid upon it by Muḥammad, for the 'master-mind' of Arabia, with his far-seeing judgment and intimate knowledge of human nature, discerned what subtle and powerful effects the doctrine would exercise on the minds of his unsophisticated and fanatical followers, not only to establish more firmly his own position among them as a prophet, but also for the propagation of the Muslim faith, and the establishment of a Muḥammadan empire. It taught his followers to be courageous and fearless in the face of danger, to attribute victory to the purpose of God[2]—thus deepening their faith in Islám, and in times of adversity[3] to be resigned to God's will, in the belief that no act of

Much emphasized in the Qur'an and Traditions

Effects of the doctrine upon Muhammad's followers

[1] Súratu'l-Qamar (liv) 49. [2] Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 17 (at Badr).
[3] Súratu Ali 'Imrán (iii) 160 (at Ohod).

theirs, or of others, could alter their destiny as decreed by Him.[1] It accounted also for the opposition and unbelief of his fellow-citizens at Mecca, which indicated the hardening stamp of God's reprobation. The belief practically developed into fatalism, which exists largely among the Muslims of India at the present day, and is used by them as an excuse or cloak for wrong-doing.

The belief developed into fatalism

The Qur'án states [Súratu'l-An'ám (vi) 38], 'We have not omitted anything in the Book' (of God's decree). Nothing, therefore, can happen but what is decreed by God. Faith and unbelief, the award of Heaven or of Hell, every act of man, whether good or evil, have all been decreed and written on the 'preserved tablet,' before the creation of the world, and a man can no more act contrary to, or alter the irrevocable decree, than he can order the day of his birth or the character of his parents.

We are not, therefore, surprised to find that the doctrine of election and reprobation is as dogmatically taught in the Qur'án and by Muslim writers,[2] as that propounded by the strictest sect of the Calvinists. 'He pardons whom He pleases, and punishes whom He pleases.'[3] 'God will mislead whom He pleaseth, and whom He pleaseth He will place upon the straight path.'[4] 'The fate of every man we have bound about his neck.'[5] 'Some of them there were whom God guided, and there were others decreed to err.'[6] 'God cometh in between a man and his own heart. 'This is the grace of God! On whom He will He bestoweth it.'[8] 'All sovereignty is in the hands of God. Had He pleased, God would certainly

The doctrine of election and reprobation taught in the Qur'an

[1] Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 51.
[2] *vide* Mírzá Ghulám Ahmad, *The Teaching of Islám*, p. 78 ('The chosen ones of God').
[3] Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 22.
[4] Súratu'l-An'ám (vi) 39 ; cf. Súratu'l-Qamar (liv) 34.
[5] Súratu Bani Isrá'íl (xvii) 14.
[6] Súratu'n-Nahl (xvi) 38.
[7] Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 24. [8] Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 59.

have guided all men aright.'[1] 'Whom God causeth to err, no guide shall there be for him.'[2] 'Verily, God ordaineth what He pleaseth."[3] There could be no more dogmatic theory of predestination taught than what these, and many other Qur'ánic passages,[4] convey.

'Ulama explain that Evil is decreed by God, but not with His approval

But lest this bald statement of the doctrine should seem to make God the author of evil, it is explained by some 'Ulama of Islám that the unbelief and evil acts of men, while foreordained according to God's will and eternal decree, are not predestined in accordance with His satisfaction, an explanation which is at once illogical and contrary to any conceivable theory of the Divine Essence.

The freedom of the will, and man's responsibility for his actions, also taught in the Qur'an

There are passages in the Qur'án which teach, at least by implication, the freedom of the human will, and man's responsibility for his unbelief and wrong-doing. 'Throw not yourselves *with your own hands* into ruin' [Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 191]; 'Let him who will, believe; and let him who will, be an infidel;'[5] 'Whatever good befalleth thee is from God, and whatever evil betideth thee is from thyself;'[6] and when those (the Quraish) who 'added gods to God, quoting his own doctrine of predestination, said; 'If God had willed, neither we nor our fathers had given Him companions,' Muḥammad, who was an opportunist in theology as well as in law, repudiated their contention, and his own doctrine, by replying, 'Verily, ye follow only a conceit; ye utter only lies.'[7]

[1] Súratu'r-Ra'd (xiii) 30. [2] Súratu'r-Ra'd (xiii) 33.
[3] Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 1.
[4] Súratu'l-An'ám (vi) 36, 150; Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 51; Súratu Húd (xi) 120; Súratu Bani Isrá'íl (xvii) 47, 48, 99; Súratu'l-Aḥzáb (xxxiii) 38; Súratu'l-Ḥujurát (xlix) 7; Súratu'l-Ḥadíd (lvii) 22; Súratu'l-Mujádala (lviii) 22; Súratu'l-A'lá (lxxxvii) 3.
[5] Súratu'l-Kahf (xviii) 28; cf. Súratu'n-Najm (liii) 32; Súratu'l-Mu'min (xl) 43. 'Abbás says: 'This verse (xviii) 28, refers to the decree, " He whom God wills to believe certainly will do so, and whom He wills to be an infidel will be one," and not at all to man's free will.' *Tafsír-i-Husaini*, vol. ii, p. 9.
[6] Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 81. [7] Súratu'l-An'ám (vi) 149.

There is also much stress laid, in the Qur'án, on the efficacy of prayer,[1] and of repentance.[2]

Efficacy of prayer and repentance

Around this question of man's free will as consistent with the sovereignty of God, there has been considerable controversy among Muslim, as among Christian, theologians; and different schools of thought in Islám have held different views on the subject.

Different Muslim schools of thought on the subject of Predestination

One school[3] denies all free agency in man, and another,[4] the extreme opposite, affirms that man is a free agent, and attributes to him moral responsibility for his evil actions. A third school,[5] adopting a middle course, asserts that God wills both good and evil, but ascribes the power of choice to man, and in order to preserve the moral responsibility of man, they say that he has the power to convert will into action. While, however, the will or choice is man's, the act corresponding to this desire is created by God. In this way the Ash'aríans endeavour to reconcile the sovereignty of God with the moral responsibility of man. This attempt to settle a question, which is really outside the range of the human understanding, we can only regard as mere theological hair-splitting.

Muslim attempts to reconcile the freedom of the will with the sovereignty of God

It is unnecessary to follow this Muslim controversy further, which naturally, remains unsettled to the present day.

Controversy not settled

[1] Súratu'l-Furqán (xxv) 66, 74; Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 239; Súratu Áli'Imrán (iii) 188, 191, 192; Súratu Húd (xi) 116; Súratu Bani Isrá'íl (xvii) 80; Súratu'l-'Ankabút (xxix) 44; Súratu'l-Qáf (l) 39.

[2] Súratu'l-Furqán (xxv) 70, 71; Súratu'sh-Shúrá (xlii) 12; Súratu-l-Qáf (L) 31-34.

[3] The Jabarians (from 'jabr,' compulsion).

[4] The Qadaríans, so called because they deny al-qadar, or God's absolute decree.

[5] The Ash'aríans. 'Nothing exists upon earth be it good or bad, but that which God wills. . Good and evil happen according to destiny (qaḍa) and decree (qadar) of God for good or evil.' Al-Ash'arí, quoted in Macdonald's, *Muslim Theology*, p. 295. *Vide* Canon Sell's, *Faith of Islám*, (4th ed.) pp. 329-37 for detailed account of these different Muslim schools of thought.

We may regard the orthodox Muslim belief in a stern predestination dogma, as the recognised doctrine of the Qur'án, although there are several passages in seeming conflict with it, and one[1] in which Muḥammad, in the same sentence, teaches the Divine sovereignty and the freedom of the will in repentance. The Qur'ánic teaching on this subject furnishes, indeed, another illustration of the subjective, and sometimes discordant, character of Muḥammad's 'revelations,' which in many instances were called forth by the circumstances occurring around him, and whose tenor suited the varying necessities of the hour. One passage, however, may be quoted as conclusive of the orthodox belief in the absolute and unchangeable nature of the Divine decree. This occurs in Súratu'l-Insán (lxxvi) 29, 30: 'And whoso willeth, taketh the way to his Lord; *but will it ye shall not, unless God will it*, for God is knowing, wise.'

A stern predestination dogma is the orthodox Muslim belief

Famous text quoted in proof of orthodox belief

It remains for us now to inquire into the source of this article of the Muslim faith.

Source of dogma

It must be admitted that in formulating this doctrine, Muḥammad was considerably influenced by the teaching of both the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, in which the doctrine of God's sovereignty is clearly expressed; but his bald, even repulsive, statement of the dogma cannot be attributed to these Scriptures. Jews, as well as Christians, would repudiate the thought that their Scriptures taught that God misleadeth men and causeth them to err. This may be illustrated by an incident which occurred at the entry of the Khalífa 'Umar into Jerusalem. In his address, quoting from Súratu Bani Isrá'íl (xvii) 99, he said 'He whom God shall guide shall be

The teaching of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures influenced Muhammad in formulating the doctrine, but not in its repulsive Qur'anic form

Illustration

[1] Súratu'sh-Shúrá (xiii) 12: 'Whom He pleaseth will God choose for it (the faith of Islám), and whosoever will turn to Him in penitence will He guide to it.

guided indeed; and whom He shall mislead, thou shalt find none to guide.' On hearing these words, a Christian monk, interrupting him twice, said, 'God forbid, the Lord doth not mislead anyone, but desireth rather the right direction of all.' Only the threat of instant beheadal silenced this Christian objector.

What other sources?

What other sources, we may ask, were there open to Muḥammad, which would influence him in his conception, and Qur'ánic expression, of this dogma?

The primary sources are the primitive cults in Arabia before the rise of Islam

We have seen in the opening chapter, that Fetichism and Ṣábianism were among the primitive cults prevalent in Arabia in the time of Muḥammad. And, as in all such cults and animistic religions, the idea of fatalism is rooted in the minds of their devotees,[1] and interwoven with their beliefs, we may conclude, with some certainty, that the primary source of Muḥammad's doctrine of Predestination, which, at times, can scarcely be distinguished from fatalism, or blind destiny, is to be found in the primitive cults of Arabia, which existed there before the rise of Islám. Doubtless, his concep-

Muhammad's idea of the doctrine was strengthened by circumstances and environment

tion of the doctrine was also fostered and strengthened by the long continued hostility of the Quraish, and the prevailing unbelief and idolatry around him, together with the apparent failure of his mission in Mecca, events which could only be explained by the doctrine of an unalterable and predestined destiny.

The doctrine, from whatever source borrowed, gained in 'hardness' in the process of its adoption by Muhammad, as a tenet of Islam

But to whatever source, or sources, this article of the Muslim faith, in its crystallized form, may be traced, be it the inherent fatalism of the primitive cults which existed in Arabia in 'The Times of Ignorance,' or the broader outlook of this divinely-revealed truth as contained in the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, it is

[1] The writer has come in contact with several of the aboriginal tribes of India, and has found the idea of fatalism embedded among their religious beliefs.

certain that, in the hands of the 'Prophet,' it underwent a certain amount of 'hardness' in the process of converting it into a tenet of Islám.

There are a few faint references to fate, or destiny, in the *Avestá*,[1] but the doctrine was not taught by Zarathuštra, nor was it developed in later Avestán teaching.

[1] *Fargaṇd*, v. 8 (23) ; 9 (29).

PART II

THE PRACTICE OF ISLÁM

CHAPTER IX

TASHAHHUD—THE RECITAL OF THE KALIMA

'TO EVERY PEOPLE HAVE WE APPOINTED OBSERVANCES.'[1]

HAVING finished our inquiry into the sources of the faith (imán[2]) of Islám, we shall proceed now to investigate the sources of its practice (dín).[2]

We have seen (p. 20) that the articles of the faith of Islám are six in number, namely, Belief in the unity of God, the Angels, the Books, the Prophets, the Day of Judgement, and Predestination, or God's eternal decree. But belief in these dogmas does not comprise the entire religious duty of the followers of the Prophet. To render this belief effective it must be supplemented by the observance of the 'Acts of Practice.'

These are five in number, and constitute the Arkánu'd-dín, or foundation pillars of religious practice in Islám. They are:

The 'five pillars,' or practical duties of Islam

(1) Tashahhud, the recital of the Kalima, or Creed.

(2) Ṣalát, the five appointed times of daily prayer.

(3) Roza, fasting, especially during the thirty days of Ramaḍán.

(4) Zakát, almsgiving.

(5) Ḥajj, the pilgrimage to Mecca.

These 'five pillars', or practical duties, of Islám

[1] Súratu'l-Ḥajj (xxii) 66.

[2] These two words (imán and dín) indicate all that is required of Muslims as regards their faith and practice. The former refers to doctrine, and the latter to practical duty.

are called farḍ,[1] or obligatory duties, because they are clearly revealed in the Qur'án, and are, therefore, incumbent upon every Muslim believer. The Qur'ánic references to them will be given in due course; here we may note a tradition given by Shahrastání[2] that 'Gabriel came in the form of an Arab of the desert . . and said: "O Apostle of God, what is Islám?" He said, "That thou shouldst bear witness that there is no god save God and that I am the Apostle of God; that thou shouldst perform the prayers (ṣalát) and bring the alms (zakát) and fast in the month of Ramaḍán and make pilgrimage to the House (ka'ba) if the way is possible for thee." He said, "Thou hast spoken truly."'

These duties are scrupulously observed by every true Musalmán. Perhaps there is no other religion in the world whose devotees so rigorously observe the outward forms of their religion,[3] and who so blindly accept the articles of their faith. Even the Ḥajj, or pilgrimage to Mecca, which involves to many a long and costly and sometimes dangerous journey, every devout Musalmán hopes, and endeavours, to perform sometime before the day of his death.

We shall consider these practical duties, and inquire into their sources, in the order in which they are given above.

The first is Tashahhud—the recital of the Kalima,

[1] The word farḍ denotes an obligatory duty because clearly enjoined by the Qur'án and, hence, by God.

[2] Al-Milal wa'n-Niḥal, p. 27. This tradition continues, 'Then he (Gabriel) said, "What is faith (imán)?" The Prophet said, "That thou shouldst believe in God and His angels and His book and His messengers and in the Last Day and that thou shouldst believe in the decreeing (qadar) both of good and evil." He said, "Thou hast spoken truly."'

[3] Living, as the writer has done for many years, among Muḥammadans, examples of Muslim piety have come almost daily under his notice. When any of the stated times of prayer occur, the Muslim, wherever he may be, in the train, or by the road-side, or at work in a bungalow, leaves his occupation, spreads his carpet, and engages in prayer.

1. Tashahhud, the recital of the Kalima, or Creed

or Creed.[1] Sale and other English[2] writers omit this act of practice in their enumeration of the practical duties of Islám, and, consequently, reduce these acts of practice to four. But as it is the mere *act of reciting* the creed (not the creed itself) which is enjoined, and which must be repeated aloud by every Muslim believer at least once in his life-time, it is rightly included among the practical duties of Muslims, and constitutes, therefore, one of the 'five pillars' of their religion.

The act consists in reciting, in the Arabic language, the following short formula, or confession of faith: Lá-iláha-il-lal-laho Muḥammadu'r-Rasúlu'lláh, 'There is no god but God, and Muḥammad is the Apostle of God.'[3] This declaration or confession of faith, which witnesseth to the unity of God, and the apostleship of Muḥammad, is taught in several passages of the Qur'án,[4] and may be heard repeated by Musalmáns all over India to-day. It has seemed to the writer, sometimes, to be regarded by uneducated Muslims in the light of a talisman, the repetition of which may act as a charm to ward off evil from the believer in his contact, perhaps, with the Christian. Frequently in his discussions with Muḥammadans, when comparing the

[1] The Kalima, or Creed, is the short formula, or confession of faith (stated above) in one God, and in Muḥammad as His Apostle. See p. 33 (and note 2) where the word 'Creed' is used in its usual sense of a body of doctrine denoting all the Articles of the Faith of Islám.

[2] *vide Commentary on the Qur'án*, Sale's Translation, E. M. Wherry, vol. i. p. 165; see also Hughes' *Notes on Muḥammadanism*, p. 101, n.[1]

[3] There is also a longer formula, namely, 'I testify that there is no god but God; I testify that Muḥammad is the servant of God, and the messenger of God.'

[4] Unity of God: Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 158; Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 1, 4, 16; Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 89, 164; Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 130; Súratu Ṭá Há (xx) 8, 14, 98; Súratu'l-Anbiyá' (xxi) 87; Súratu Ṣád (xxxviii) 65; Súratu'd-Dukhán (xliv) 7. Apostleship of Muḥammad: Súratu'l-Ḥujurát (xlix) 14, 15; Suratu'n-Núr (xxiv) 46, 51, 53, 55, 62; Súratu'l-Aḥzáb (xxxiii) 29, 31, 66, 70; Súratu'l-Ḥadíd (lvii) 7, 18, 21, 29; Súratu'l-Mudjádala (lviii) 5; Súratu'l-Fatḥ (xlviii) 9, 13, 28, 29; Súratu'ṣ-Ṣaff (lxi) 11; Súratu'l-Ikhláṣ (cxii).

character and claims of Muḥammad with those of Jesus, the sinless Prophet of Islám (see *ante* p. 58), the Muslim objector, or one of the audience, would interrupt by reciting the Kalima.

The Tashahhud, uniting as it does the chief doctrine of Islám—the unity of God—with, to Muslims, the no less important truth, the Apostleship of Muḥammad, is at once the foundation and corner-stone of the whole religious system of Islám. It is proclaimed daily, twice repeated, in the Âdhán, or call to prayer; and is daily repeated by the worshippers at the close of every two rak'ats, or forms of prayer. It was the battle-cry of Islám, and in its declaration of an eternal truth, with personal devotion to Muḥammad as the Apostle of God, it doubtless helped to fan the flame of fanaticism in the minds of the Prophet's followers. The religious significance of, and the importance attached to, the recital of this formula may be gathered from the fact that every convert to Islám, as well as every Muslim believer, is required to repeat the confession aloud, and must be prepared to declare it without hesitation, at any time until death.[1]

Origin of Tashahhud

With regard to the origin of this formula and its recital, we have seen (Chapter III, pp. 23, 24) that the Quraish, Muḥammad's own tribe, when performing the religious ceremony called Ihlál, used the following words, which imply a profession of belief in the Unity of God; 'Labbaika, Alláhumma: We are present in Thy service, O God; we are present in Thy service. Thou hast no partner, except such partner as Thou hast; Thou ownest him and whatsoever he owneth.' From this expression, or formula, of religious belief, it is evident that something similar to the first part of the Kalima was in use among the Arabs long before the rise of Islám. There is, moreover, a marked similarity between the con-

[1] There are some other conditions attached to the recital of the Kalima, namely, It must be recited correctly, and in the Arabic language; its meaning must be perfectly understood; and it must be sincerely believed in.

fession of God's Unity in the first part of the Muslim Creed and the confession of the Divine Unity, with which the שְׁמַע *Shema'* (the chief formula of the Jewish liturgy) begins, 'Hear O Israel, the Lord our God is One Lord,' and which is recited daily by the Jews. The whole of the first chapter of the *Talmud* contains a discussion about this great formula.[1]

Further, the confession of their faith in one God, which was made by the sons of Jacob at their father's death-bed, is referred to by Muḥammad in Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 127, and his account is evidently taken from the Rabbinical account, according to which they say, 'The Lord is our God, and He is One.'[2]

We have seen in Chapter III, that Muḥammad derived his idea of the Divine unity primarily from the Semitic, or monotheistic idea of God, which was the ancient traditional belief of the Arabs long before Muḥammad's time; and, further, that this idea obtained additional significance in the Prophet's mind by his contact with Judaism.[3] It can scarcely be doubted, therefore, that the declaration of God's Oneness, which is contained in the first part of the Kalima, may be traced to these sources, while the second part of the Creed is, apparently, Muḥammad's own invention, being the offspring of his own imagination.

[1] Deut. vi. 4; *Berākhôth* fols. 2*a*-13*a*; *vide ante*, p. 28.
[2] *vide ante*, Chap. iii, p. 28, note 1.
[3] *idem*, pp. 22-24, 27.

CHAPTER X

PRAYER

'Observe Strictly the Prayers
'Believers are They who Observe the Prayers.'[2]

Ṣalát,[3] or prayer, is the second practical duty which the Qur'án enjoins upon Muslims, and the frequency with which this 'act of practice' is prescribed in the Qur'án indicates the importance which the Prophet attached to it. It is one of the essential traits of the believer, and its absence is indicative of reprobation by Alláh. 'He is pious who believeth in God, and . . . who observeth prayer';[4] 'They who believe and observe the prayers shall have their reward with their Lord';[5] 'Believers are they only . . who observe the prayers'[6]. These passages could be multiplied.

Salat, or prayer, the 'second pillar' of Islam

Its importance

In its final stereotyped form, this Muslim ṣalát is, strictly speaking, a religious service,[6] the Arabic word du'á' being the more correct term for prayer, as we understand it. To the majority of Musalmáns the ṣalát, or

It is, more strictly, a prayer-service

[1] Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 239.
[2] Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 2, 3.
Ṣalát is the Arabic term used to denote this 'second pillar' of Islám; in Persian and Hindustani the word Namáz is used.
[4] Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 172.
idem. 277.
[6] In the early Meccan period, the ṣalát was performed in private. A convert relates that 'we used at first, not knowing what to say when we prayed, to salute God, Gabriel and Michael; The Prophet presently taught us another formula instead.' *Vide Muḥammad and the Rise of Islám*, p. 103—D. S. Margoliouth.

prayer-service is a purely formal act of devotion, and all the minute regulations connected with it must be scrupulously observed by the worshippers. The extreme formalism of the exercise, instead of stimulating the soul's devotion, tends rather to hinder and sterilise the true expression of the heart in prayer to God.[1]

Purely formal

In all Muḥammadan countries, and by every true Musalmán, ṣalát must be observed five times daily, namely, at daybreak (ṣubḥ); at noon (ẓuhr); in the afternoon ('ashí); at sunset; and after sunset (masá').[2] These five daily periods of prayers are 'farḍ,' or obligatory, because enjoined in the Qur'án, and, therefore, by God. They must also be said in Arabic.[3] There are three other periods in the day in which prayer may be observed, but these are 'nafl,' or voluntary prayers the observance of which is said to confer additional merit upon the worshipper; they may be omitted, however, without committing sin. They are Ṣalátu'l-'Ishráq, after the sun has risen; Ṣalátu'd-Ḍuḥá about an hour before noon; and Ṣalátu't-Tahajjud,

The five daily periods of prayer, which are obligatory

Three other periods of voluntary prayer

[1] The writer has been present at the Friday ṣalát, or prayer-service, in the great mosque at Delhi, when about 3,000 worshippers assembled within the quadrangle, under the vault of heaven, and with perfect discipline assumed the postures, and engaged in all the genuflections connected with the service, and, while the solemnity of the service appealed to him, he was impressed more with its extreme mechanical formality.

[2] Súratu'r-Rúm (xxx) 16, 17: Only four periods are mentioned in this passage. Muslim commentators say that masá' includes the sunset and after-sunset periods of prayer. I have given the times of prayer as from early morning, but Muslims regard the ṣalátu'l-maghrib prayers at sunset as the first period; the ṣalátu'l-'ishá' prayers, said after sunset, as the second period; daybreak (ṣubḥ) as the third period; noon (ẓuhr) as the fourth period; and the afternoon ('ashí, between noon and nightfall) as the fifth period; cf. Súratu Ṭá Há (xx) 130; Súratu Húd (xi) 116.

[3] A Musalmán was publicly excommunicated in the chief mosque at Madras on Friday, February 13 1880, because he affirmed that the ṣalát might be said in Hindustani. *Vide* Sell's, *Faith of Islam*, 4th ed., pp. 413-17.

after midnight.[1] Besides these daily prayers, there are others appointed for special occasions: e.g., Ṣalátu'l-Jum'a, 'The Friday Prayer,' which has the authority of the Qur'án;[2] Ṣalátu'l-Musáfir, 'Prayers for a traveller;'[3] Ṣalátu'l-'Khauf,' 'Prayers of fear,'[4] said when in danger from an enemy; Ṣalátu'l-Janáza, 'Prayers at a funeral;' Ṣalátu'l-Istikhára, 'Prayers for guidance,' said before undertaking any special work; Ṣalátu't-Tauba, 'The Prayer of repentance.'[5]

Special Prayers

Ṣalát must always be preceded by certain rites of purification, the observance of which is an essential preparation for the effective discharge of this 'act of practice.' Indeed, the efficacy of the whole 'act' is dependent upon the exactness with which these rites are performed by the worshipper. Any neglect or omission, even the most trivial and unintentional, in the performance of these rites, or any change in the order in which they are prescribed, renders the whole ceremony worthless and the succeeding prayers nugatory.

Rites of purification must precede Salat

Great importance is attached by Muslims to these ablutionary ceremonies, as, according to a saying of the

[1] There is a tradition in reference to these 'nafl' or voluntary prayers, which states: 'He who, for the sake of faith and with a good intention, in Ramaḍán makes these "nafl" or voluntary prayers, will receive all the pardon of his former sins.' *Sahihu'l-Bukhári*, vol. i, p. 4.

[2] Súratu'l-Jumu'a (lxii) 8 'The day of the assembly,' in this passage, is Friday; the day on which Muḥammad made his first entry into Madína, and the final day of Creation.

[3] The Khalífa 'Umar in reply to what some persons said to him; 'We find the prayer of fear and the prayer of residence written in the Qur'án, but not the prayer of the traveller,' answered 'God sent to us Muḥammad when we did not know anything about religion, we do what we saw him do.' *Kashf* i, 197, quoted by Klein, *Religion of Islam*, p. 143.

[4] Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 102-3. [5] Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 129, 130.

Besides the special prayers mentioned above there are others, namely: Ṣalátu'l-Kusúf, two rak'ats said during an eclipse of the sun; Ṣalátu'l-Khusúf, two rak'ats said during an eclipse of the moon; Ṣalátu'l-Istisqá', prayer in time of drought; and Ṣalátu'l-Taráwíḥ, twenty rak'ats said every night in the month of Ramaḍán.

The practice of religion founded on cleanliness

Prophet recorded by G͟hazáli, 'the whole practice of religion is founded on cleanliness,' which is the one-half of the faith, and the key of prayer, without which it will not be heard by God. Hence, both the person and clothes of the worshipper must be clean and, also, the place where prayer is observed, be it in the public mosque or at home in private.

Three rites of purification

The rites of purification which must be observed before Ṣalát are of three kinds, namely: (1) Waḍú', the partial bathing of the body; (2) G͟husl, the total immersion, or bathing of the body: (3) Tayammum, purification by sand

(1) Wadu'

(1) Waḍú' is the bathing of the face from forehead to chin, and ear to ear; and the hands and arms up to the elbow; and the feet to the ankles; the head is also wiped with the wet hand. It is a farḍ duty which must always precede namáz, except when water is not obtainable, or its use may be injurious; sand is then allowable. The passage in the Qur'án authorising this rite is Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 8, 'O Believers! when ye address yourselves to prayer, wash your faces, and your hands up to the elbow, and wipe your heads, and your feet to the ankles.' The Qur'ánic instructions pertaining to waḍú' are thus simple enough; but there are various sunnat regulations[1] concerning the manner, and the order, in

[1] These sunnat regulations are (1) to make the intention of waḍú', thus: I make this waḍú' for the purpose of putting away impurity; (2) to wash the hand up to the wrist; (3) to repeat one of the names of God when beginning waḍú'; (4) to clean the teeth; (5) to rinse the mouth three times; (6) to put water into the nostrils three times; (7) to do all the above in the proper order; (8) to do all without any delay between the various acts; (9) each part is to be purified three times; (10) the space between the fingers of one hand must be rubbed with the wet fingers of the other; (11) the beard must be combed with the fingers; (12) the whole head must be rubbed once; (13) the ears must be washed with the water remaining on the fingers after the last operation; (14) to rub under and between the toes with the little finger of the left hand, drawing it from the little toe of the right foot, and between each toe in succession. *Vide* Canon Sell's, *Faith of Islám*, (4th ed.) pp. 358-9.

Sunnat regulations which tend to formalism

which the various members of the body must be washed, which tend to mere formalism, and violate the teaching of that beautiful, pathetic prayer in the Qur'án, 'O Lord! lay not on us a burden like that which Thou hast laid on those who have been before us; neither make us, O Lord! to bear that for which we have not strength' [Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 286]. The extreme formality of these ablutions may be gathered from the fact that if the nostrils are washed before the mouth, or the left hand before the right, or the toes of the left foot before the toes of the right, or if each part is not washed three times, the whole ceremony is rendered abortive, nor can the worshipper lawfully engage in the daily Ṣalát.

The correct observance of waḍú' is said to confer forgiveness of the venial sins of the worshipper.[1]

(2) Ghusl

(2) Ghusl is a special purificatory rite, in which the whole body is bathed, by water being poured three times over the right and left shoulders, and the same number of times over the head. As no part of the body must be left unclean the nostrils must also be washed, and the mouth rinsed. The ceremony is required of him who is in a state of uncleanness or impurity,[2] owing to certain actions which he has, either voluntarily or involuntarily, committed.[3] It is preceded by waḍú' and, as in waḍú', the least infringement of its regulations—even the leaving of one hair dry—renders the rite barren and unprofitable.

(3) Tayammum, or purification by sand,[4] takes the place of waḍú' when it is difficult to obtain water,

[1] A tradition says, 'He who performs the waḍú' in proper manner will be cleansed of his sins.' Muḥammad also said, 'He who makes waḍú' according to my waḍú' (i.e., three times), and then makes two rak'ats, without being defiled between; all his former sins will be forgiven him.'—*Ṣaḥiḥu'l-Bukhárí*, Kitábu'l wadú'. With reference to Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 9, Baiḍáwí says, 'Certainly the waḍú' is an atonement for sins.'

[2] Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 9; Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 46.

[3] e.g. Sexual intercourse, contact with the dead, etc.; *vide* last Qur'ánic references.

[4] Súras *idem*.

(3) Tayammum

owing (i) to its remoteness ;[1] or (ii) the presence of an enemy, wild beast, or reptile ; or (iii) in the case of sickness, when its use might be prejudicial to health ; or (iv) on feast-days, or at funerals, when the worshipper is late and there is insufficient time to observe the waḍú' ceremony.

The rite consists in the worshipper placing his open hands upon the sand, and then rubbing, or passing, them over the parts to be washed as in waḍú'

Other injunctions re Salat

There are a few other points in connection with the Ṣalát which may be noted, namely, the face of the worshipper must be turned towards Mecca, the several postures used in prayer, the paring of the nails, and the exclusion of women from the public prayer-service.

The sources of Salat

In considering now the origin of this somewhat complicated prayer ritual, especially as regards the number of times the daily Ṣalát is enjoined in the Qur'án, we may note, first, that the Islámic practice has several points of contact with the Jewish. The earlier passages of the Qur'án in which the observance is referred to, lend weight to the belief that Muḥammad, in the early days of his mission when he was on friendly terms with the Jews, and when he hoped to be recognised by them as their coming prophet, imitated the Jewish custom in respect to the number of times prayer should be observed daily. In Súratu Húd (xi) 116 (which is a late Meccan one), Muslims are directed to 'observe prayer at early morning, at the close of the day, and at the approach of night.' Súratu'l-Qáf (l) 38, 39 (which is an earlier Meccan one), contains the injunction, 'Celebrate the praise of thy Lord before sunrise and before sunset: and praise Him in the night'[2]. And in Súratu Bani

The daily periods of Salat, at first borrowed from the Jews

[1] One kos, which is between one-and-a-half and two miles.

[2] The continuation of this passage is, 'and perform the two final prostrations.' Sale renders it, 'the additional parts of worship,' and in a note says, 'these are the two inclinations used after the evening

Isrá'il (xvii) 80 (which is also an early Meccan one), the command is, 'Observe prayer at sunset, till the first darkening of the night, and the daybreak reading and watch unto it in the night.'

These passages,[1] which inculcate the observance of prayer three times daily, indicate that Muḥammad at first adopted the practice of the Jews as it is set forth forth in the Old Testament Scriptures, and in *Talmudic* writings. Daniel (vi. 10) in spite of the king's prohibition, we read, 'kneeled . three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks before his God, as aforetime.' The Psalmist, David says, 'Evening and morning and at noon will I pray and cry aloud.' Direction is also given in the *Talmud*[2] for the observance of prayer three times each day, after the example of Abraham,[3] Isaac,[4] and Jacob.[5] There are also instances given in the Apocrypha of the morning and evening prayer sacrifice.[6]

Jewish practice according to the Old Testament Scriptures

and the Talmud, and the Apocrypha

But in other passages of the Qur'án Muḥammad departed from the Jewish practice in this, as in other

prayer. which are not necessary, or of precept, but voluntary, and of supererogation; and may therefore be added or omitted, indifferently.' Wherry, however, says 'The *additional parts* of worship are *commanded* here, and therefore cannot be regarded by Muslims as indifferent. It is better to apply these words to other hours of prayer not mentioned here.'—Wherry, *Comprehensive Commentary on the Qur'án*. vol. iv, p. 78, note 39.

[1] cf. Súratu'l-A'ráf (vii) 204; Súratu'r-Ra'd (xiii) 16, in which prayer is enjoined morning and evening. These are both late Meccan Súras.

[2] *Berákhôth*, (*Jeru. Tal*) fol. 7*b*, col. 1: 'From where have they (the ancients) obtained the three prayers? They are established upon the three periods of the day . . morning . afternoon . evening R. Yehoshuah ben Levi says: they have learnt them (the three prayers) from the patriarchs Abraham Isaac Jacob.' 'A vow to fast should be mentioned at each of the three services (evening, morning, and afternoon).'

[3] Gen. xix. 27.

[4] Gen. xxiv. 63.

[5] Gen. xxvii. 11, etc.

[6] 1 Esdras v. 50; Judith ix. 1; xi. 17 xii. 6-8.

After his night-journey Muhammad increased the periods of the daily Salat to five

respects, and increased the number of times in which prayer should be observed by his followers daily. This occurred after his celebrated night journey to Heaven when, it is said, he received the divine injunction that his followers should engage in prayer five times a day. In the passage already referred to (p. 119), namely, Súratu'r-Rúm (xxx) 16, 17, the command is 'Glorify God therefore when ye reach the evening (masá'), and when ye rise at morn (subh), . and at twilight ('ashí), and when ye rest at noon '(ẓuhr). In explanation of this passage, and, presumably, to bring the teaching of the Qur'án on this subject into harmony with the universal practice of Muḥammad's followers, Muslim commentators affirm that masá', the evening ṣalát, comprehends both the ṣalátu'l-maghrib and the ṣalátu'l-'ishá', that is, the prayers said at sunset, and after sunset.

Only four periods mentioned in Qur'an

In Súratu Ṭá Há (xx) 130, four daily periods are only mentioned in which prayer should be observed, 'Celebrate the praise of thy Lord before the sunrise, and before its setting, and . in the hours of the night and in the extremes of the day.' From this, and the previous passage in which four appointed periods of daily prayer are mentioned, some English writers[1] on Islám assert that Muḥammad appointed four periods, not five, for the daily ṣalát. But in our interpretation of the Qur'án, and especially in matters relating to the content of words or phrases, we should be guided by the opinions and explanations of commentators belonging to the Muslim faith; just as we hold that a Christian theologian is a better commentator on the Bible than one of another faith.

But Muslim commentators explain that they comprehend the five periods

In reference to the above passage (xx) 130, therefore, we must accept the explanation given by Baiḍáwí,

[1] e.g. Bosworth Smith, *Muḥammad and Muḥammadanism*, p. 196.

Baidawi's explanation of Sura (xx) 130

that the 'hours of the night' mean the ṣalátu'l-maghrib and the ṣalátu'l-'ishá' or the sunset, and after-sunset, prayers; and that 'before the setting of sun' comprehends the ṣalátu'ẓ-ẓuhr and ṣalátu'l-'aṣr, or the prayers said at noon, and in the afternoon; and that the phrase 'extremes of the day' is meant to emphasise the necessity of the morning and evening prayers, i.e. the ṣalátu'l-fajr and the ṣalátu'l-maghrib.

But apart from these explanations, the fact remains that five periods of prayer have been observed daily, by the followers of the Prophet, from time immemorial; and the origin of the practice is, we think, not difficult to find.

Muhammad adopted his five periods of prayer directly from the Sabians

We have already seen[1] that Muḥammad borrowed not a little of his religious practice from the ancient sect of the Ṣábians. So close, indeed, was the resemblance between many of the Ṣábian religious rites and customs and those adopted by Muḥammad, that some converts to Islám expressed the belief that they had become Ṣábians. There is a very precise account of these Ṣábian practices given by the ancient Arabic writer, Abú 'Īsa'l-Maghribí, which seems definitely to settle the direct source from which Muḥammad adopted his five periods of daily prayer. 'The Ṣábians,' he says, 'had certain religious rites, among which are seven fixed times of prayer, *five of which correspond with those of the Muslims*. The sixth is the prayer at dawn, and the seventh a prayer, the time for which is at the end of the sixth hour of the night. . Their prayer, like that of Muslims, is one which requires real earnestness and that the worshipper should not let his attention wander to anything else when offering it. They prayed over the dead without either bowing down or prostration.'[2] The agreement which this old writer points out between the five periods of prayer observed by the Muslims, and

[1] Chapters i, p. 7; v, pp. 53, 54.

[2] Quoted by Abú'l-Fidá, *At-Tawárikhu'l-Qadímah* (*Hist. Ante-Islamica*), p. 148.

the five (of the seven) appointed times, which the Ṣábians observe, can scarcely be accidental; and as the Muslims have other times in the day in which nafl, or voluntary prayer may be observed, which practically bring their practice into harmony with that of the Ṣábians, we must conclude that Muḥammad borrowed his five stated periods of prayer directly from this source.

Zoroastrianism is the ultimate source of the Muslim Salat

But, we may ask, was the Ṣábian cult the ultimate source of this Muslim practice? Was there no older, no more primitive religious system, to which the Muslim Ṣalát may be traced; and to which even the ancient Ṣábians may have been, to some extent, indebted for their practice? We think the answer must be given in the affirmative. A reference to the *Avestá* will show that the Zoroastrians are instructed to observe prayer five times a day. According to the *Avestá* the day is divided into five periods, during which the gáhs,[1] or prayers, which belong to each period should be recited.

These five periods or divisions[2] of the day are:

Avestan five divisions of the day, in which the gahs or prayers are recited

(1) Ushahina, which is reckoned from midnight till the disappearnce of the stars (from 12 p.m. to 6 a.m.).

(2) Hávani, from sunrise till mid-day (from 6 a.m. to 12 noon).

(3) Rapithwina, from mid-day till the beginning of twilight (from 12 noon to 3 p.m.).

[1] The word 'gáhs' is also applied to the five divisions of the day. The term probably arose from the practice of reciting the *Gáthas* at different periods of the day. The *Gáthas* are the most ancient *Avestic* writings, and consist of hymns resembling those of the *Vedas*. They are ascribed to the prophet Zarathuštra.

[2] It may be of interest to note that there are five prayers for the use of lay Pársís, which are addressed to the sun, to Mithra, to the moon, to waters, and to fire. The term 'nyayis' (which is a begging prayer, as distinct from sitáyis, a prayer of praise), is specially applied to these five prayers. The sun nyayis is recited three times a day, at sunrise (gáh hávan), at noon (gáh rapitvin), at 3 p.m. (gáh uzíren). The mithra nyáyis with the sun nyáyis, and the water nyáyis and the fire nyáyis (when one is in proximity to these elements) are recited each day.

(4) Uzayéirina, from the beginning of twilight till the appearance of the stars (from 3 p.m. to 6 p.m.).

(5) Aiwisrúthrima, from the appearance of the stars till midnight (from 6 p.m. to 12 p.m.).

Every Zoroastrian, aftėr investiture with the *kasti*, or sacred cord of the Pársís (see p. 31, note 1), should observe the gáhs or special prayers, which belong to these five separate periods of the day. From personal observation, however, and intercourse with Pársí acquaintances, it must be admitted that these five daily periods of prayer are, by the majority of Pársís, more observed in the breach than according to the letter.[1] Still, devout Pársís are punctilious in their discharge of this duty.

A comparison of these five daily prayer-periods of the Zoroastrians with those of the Muslims, will disclose a striking parallelism between them. In tracing, therefore, to Zoroastrianism the five stated times in the day in which prayer should be observed by the followers of the Prophet, it is evident that we have come to the original source of the Muslim practice.

Origin of Islamic purificatory rites

The Arabs observed certain rites of purification

With regard, now, to the origin of the ablutions which precede the Ṣalát, and which must be scrupulously performed if the succeeding prayers are to be efficacious, it may be first noted that the Arabs had some ceremonial washings, and rites of purification, which they observed after defilement, e.g. the washing of the teeth, the paring of the nails,[2] etc; these customs, doubtless, Muḥammad,

[1] When visiting a Pársí friend, who happened on this occasion to be engaged in his morning prayers, and who carried on a conversation with me at the same time, in reply to my question if he observed the five times of daily prayer enjoined in the *Avestá*, answered with a decided negative; 'If we were not in the world,' he said, 'or had nothing else to do but pray, then we might observe the five times of prayer each day, but as we are engaged in commerce, it is not possible. We always observe one prayer-time, either morning or evening, and generally two; very devout Pársís will observe all the five times; it depends on the inclination of the mind.'

[2] Abú l-Fida, *Hist. Ante-Islámica*, ed. Fleischer, p. 180.

with his usual eclecticism, would have copied and imported into Islám. But there was the more defined and elaborate purificatory ritual of the Jews, as laid down in Leviticus and amplified in the *Talmud.* These washings and ceremonial observances, which are also referred to in the New Testament,[1] were with Pharisaic punctiliousness, practised by the Jews in Muḥammad's time; and remembering how Muḥammad, at first, acknowledged the Jewish religion to be co-ordinate, and of equal authority, with that of Islám,[2] and considering the close analogy there is between many of the Jewish and Muslim rites and ceremonies, and in particular, between the rites of purification as observed by Jews and Muslims, there is, we think, scarcely any room for doubting that the Muslim rites were borrowed from the Jewish.[3] Even Tayammum, or purification with sand, is borrowed from the *Talmud.*[3]

The Jewish ablutionary ceremonies appear to be the source of the Muslim rites

The Ebionites and the Ṣábians also observed certain ablutions somewhat similar to those enjoined in the Qur'án,[4] and, it is possible, they, too, may have influenced Muḥammad when instituting his rites of purification,

The Ebionite and Sabian ablutionary rites

[1] Matt. xv. 2; xxiii. 25, 26; Mark vii. 2, 5, 8; and, figuratively, in 2 Cor. vii. 1; Eph. v. 26; James iv. 8.

[2] Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 59.

Tisdall, *Ṣources of Islám*, p. 127, says, 'Here there is room for doubt.' But most writers on Islám (with whom I am in accord) trace these rites to Judaism; *vide* Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, p. 181 C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mohammedanism*, p. 57; D. S. Margoliouth, *Mohammed and the Rise of Islám*, p. 102-3. *Vide Berákhóth* (*Jer. Tal.*), fol. 11*b*. col. 2, and fol. 12*a*. col. 1; *Kabbalah Kitzur Sh'lh*, fol. 61, col. 1, 2, for washing the face, hands and feet, and the whole body; also for paring the nails. Washing, or purification, with sand is also enjoined in the *Talmud*, when water is not available; *Tr. Berákhóth*, fol. 15*a* [' Who has no water wherewith to wash his hands should rub them with earth,' i.e. sand; cf. Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 46 Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 9]; *Tr. idem*, fol. 46 (מְקַנֵּה בְּזִרוֹר וְדַיּוֹ 'He purifies himself with sand, and has done enough').

[4] Epiphanius, *Haer.* x. refers to these ablutionary rites of the Ebionites.

but it is a moral certainty that in this, as in so many other borrowed Islámic customs and ideas, the Jewish influence was the predominant one.

There are some other customs observed by Muslims in connexion with the Ṣalát, the sources of which have yet to be indicated. The several postures of the body, particularly those of standing, bowing, kneeling, and prostration, which are used by the worshippers during the prayer service, are all Jewish customs[1]. These postures were, however, practised by the Ṣábians, and the fact that these exercises are not observed by Muslims and Ṣábians when prayers are said over the dead,[2] is another indication of Ṣábian influence on Islám.

The postures used in the Salat are of Jewish origin

Sabian influence

We may note, in passing, that Muḥammad, in Súratu'r-Ra'd (xiii) 16, to enforce these forms of obeisance, draws a lesson from the natural phenomenon of the prostrate, elongated shadows which are cast on the ground by the sun's rays in the morning and in the evening.

The Muslim custom of praying in public, in the streets of the city, or by the road-side, or wherever they may happen to be, when the stated times of prayer come round, may be traced to the old Pharisaic custom of 'standing and praying in the synagogues, and in the corners of the streets,' which is condemned in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. vi. 5).

The Muslim custom of praying in public had its origin in the practice of the Pharisees

[1] The *Tract Berákhôth* contains numerous instructions concerning postures in prayer: fol. 3*b*, col. 2 (*Jer. Tal.*), 'We must kneel, bow, and prostrate ourselves before Thee;' *ibid.* fol. 13*a*, col. 2, 'In the evening all men are to recline when they recite the *Shema'*, and in the morning they are to stand up;' cf. Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 104 ('Make mention of God, standing, sitting, and reclining'); Súratu Áli 'Imrán, (iii) 188; Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 239; Súratu Yúnas (x) 13; Súratu'r-Ra'd (xiii) 16 ('bow down'); Súratu'l-Furqán (xxv) 65 ('prostrate'). So, in the Old and New Testament Scriptures, the Publican 'stood' (Lu. xviii. 13). Daniel 'kneeled' (Dan. vi. 10); Abraham 'fell on his face' (Gen. xviii. 3); 'Bow before God' (Micah vi. 6).

[2] *vide ante*. p. 126.

The Jews of Arabia in Muḥammad's time were the lineal descendants of the Pharisees mentioned in the Gospels, and would, therefore, retain their outward sanctimonious forms of worship. The practice, moreover, is distinctly referred to in the *Talmud*, *Berākhōth*, fol. 9*a*, col. 1 ['If one is standing, saying the prayers in the street (strata) or public roads (palatium), one ought to get out of the way to let the asses or chariots pass, without, however, interrupting the prayer']. It was natural that Muḥammad should adopt this striking practice, which would serve as an object lesson to the Arabs that the Muslim was no less devout in his worship of God than the Jew.

The separation of the men from the women, during worship, is also a Jewish and eastern custom

The separation[1] of the men from the women in public worship, which is a practice common to the Jews and Muslims, and their manner of worshipping with covered heads and bare feet, are peculiarly eastern customs. These practices may be seen to-day, even in an Indian Christian congregation, though in some places Indian Christians have begun to copy the custom of Europeans by uncovering the head during worship.

Congregational worship copied from the Jews

The Muslim practice of congregational worship, which is not observed by the heathen, is a Jewish custom; and was distinctly enjoined upon the Jews, in the Old Testament.[2] It was also followed by the Christians, in accordance with divine instruction given in the New Testament.[3]

The Qur'ánic injunction [Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 102] to shorten prayer in time of danger, is also taken from the

[1] Women are excluded from the public prayers in the mosque, when the men are present. But if a woman be a Ḥājī, i.e., one who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, she is allowed to enter the mosque, and to stand at the back during the prayers. The writer, however, has never seen a woman in a mosque, and a Muslim, who is working near me at present, asserts that women are never allowed into a mosque,

[2] Lev. viii. 3; Num. viii. 9; x. 3; Isa. xlv. 20; Luke i. 10.

[3] Hebrews x. 25.

Talmud; 'He that goeth in a dangerous place may pray a short prayer' (*Berákhóth. Jer. Tal.*, fol. 7*a*, col. 1). Prayer may also be said while riding [Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 240]; 'If one ride . he must turn his face . . and . . direct his heart towards the Holy of Holies' (*Berákhóth, Jer. Tal.*, fol. 8*a*, col. 2). Prayer is forbidden to the drunken and polluted [Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 46]: 'It is forbidden to say one's prayers in a state of drunkenness' (*Berákhóth, Jer. Tal.*, fol. 7*a*. col. 1); 'One who is intoxicated should not pray' (*Erubin*, fol. 64*a*); (cf.*Berákôth* fol. 31*b*); 'A man in his uncleanness, . . all require the bath (before prayers)' (*Berákhóth, Jer. Tal.*, fol. 6*b*, col. 2; and 7*a*, col. 1).

At first, no Qibla observed in prayer

In the Meccan days of his mission, when Muḥammad seems to have had a truer conception of the nature of prayer than in later years, there was no particular direction towards which his followers were commanded to face in prayer. 'To God belongeth the East and the West,' he then inculcated, 'therefore, whithersoever ye turn yourselves to pray, there is the face of God' [Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 109]. But after his arrival in Madína, where there were large colonies of Jews, with whom he was, at first, on friendly terms, Muḥammad adopted their Qibla, or sanctuary, the Temple of Jerusalem,[1] as the direction towards which the face should be turned in prayer. This may have been due to his reverence for the Jewish

Then, at Madina the Temple of Jerusalem was commanded, in imitation of the Jewish practice

[1] Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 136, 138. Muḥammad followed this custom for several months after the Hijra. Bukhárí says, 'At first the Prophet said prayers towards Jerusalem for sixteen or seventeen months, and he was glad when Mecca became the Qibla.' *Saḥíḥu'l-Bukhárí, Kitábu'l-Imám*, vol. i. p. 18. For the Jewish practice, as set forth in the *Talmud*, see *Berákhóth* (*Jeru. Tal.*), fol. 8*b*, col. 1: 'Those who are in the countries (out of Palestine) should turn their faces towards the Holy Land. Those who live in Palestine should turn their faces towards Jerusalem. Those who pray in Jerusalem should turn their faces towards the Mount of the Temple. Those who are on the Mount of the Temple should turn their faces towards the Holy of Holies. ;' *Ibid.* fol. 7*b*, col. 1; fol. 8*a*, col. 2; and *Bâba Bathra*, fol. 25*b*. For Scripture references see 1 Kings viii. 29, 30; Psalms v. 7 cxxxviii. 2; Dan. vi. 10; Jonah ii. 4.

forms of worship, which he undoubtedly, at that time, considered to be divine. Or it may have been to conciliate the 'children of Abraham,' in the hope of their recognising him as God's prophet. But when this hope was not fulfilled, and the strained relations became a breach, and the rupture was past healing, Muḥammad conveniently produced a 'revelation'[1] enjoing the Ka'ba, or Temple of Mecca, as the Muslim Qibla. 'We have seen thee turning thy face towards every part of Heaven; but we will have thee turn to a Qibla which shall please thee. Turn thy face towards the Sacred Mosque, and wherever ye be, turn your faces towards that part' [Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 139].

Then the Ka'ba, or Temple of Mecca

This change of Qibla was really a master-stroke of policy on the part of Muḥammad, for, while it further alienated the Jews, it helped to conciliate the Arabs, and to win them for Islám, as they were devoted to their ancient shrine at Mecca.

Importance of the change of Qibla

Moreover, the practice of facing, and always remembering, in prayer, the Sacred House of Mecca, thus making it the centre and pivot of the Muslim faith, has played by no means an unimportant part in the progress and development of Islám. It has awakened and fostered affection for a place of such great antiquity, and supposed sanctity, as 'the House of Abraham,' and by enkindling the religious zeal of the worshippers in the observance of the rites and ceremonies of their faith, it has tended to rivet these rites more firmly upon the followers of the Prophet.

It was not to be supposed that the Jews would allow the occasion to pass, without reproaching Muḥammad for his fickleness and inconsistency in thus adopting a heathen shrine as his Qibla; and the echo of their objections may be heard in Muḥammad's attempt to answer them. 'The foolish ones will say,

[1] Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 119, 139, 144. This was in the second year of the Hijra; A. H. ii, or A.D. 623.

'What hath turned them from the Qibla which they used? Say, The East and the West are God's. He turneth whom He will into the right path.'[1] Muḥammad, indeed, seems to have realised the difficulty of making the change, and the force of the Jewish taunts; for in this same Súra he says 'The change is a difficulty, but not to those whom God hath guided' [Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 138]; and in the same verse he says, 'We appointed the Qibla which thou formerly hadst, only that we might know him who followeth the Apostle, from him who turneth on his heels.' Thus did the time-serving Prophet of Arabia, by his artful 'revelations,' and cunningly-devised theory of abrogation,[2] endeavour to cover his inconstancy, in transferring his Qibla from Jehovah's Temple at Jerusalem to an old heathen shrine at Mecca, making it the centre of Islám, and the pivot around which his followers should offer their devotions to the one true God.

Circumcision, not enjoined in the Qur'an or Traditions; but practised by Muslims, as it was observed by the Jews and Arabs of Muhammad's time

In concluding this chapter, we may briefly refer to the rite of Circumcision, which is practised by Muslims, but is not prescribed in the Qur'án or Traditions, and, therefore, cannot be regarded as an ordinance, or institution of Islám. It was an Abrahamic rite,[4] and was practised by the Jews, and also by the Arabs[5] before Muḥammad's time.

[1] Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 136.

Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 100; Súratu'r-Ra'd (xiii) 39; Súratu'n-Naḥl (xvi) 103. It may be noted that Rabbinical writtings contain the dogma of 'abrogation'; *vide Hilkhôth Mamrim*, ii. 1, 2.

Hughes (*Notes on Muḥammadanism*, p. 103, note) says, 'Circumcision although never once enjoined in either the Qur'ân or Traditions, is an institution of Islám; but it is not incumbent upon adults, the recital of the creed being sufficient.' Although practised by Muslims, the rite can scarcely be called an 'institution' of Islám; *vide* Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, p. 185; Wherry, *Comp. Comm. on the Qur'an*, vol. II. p. 168; D. S. Margoliouth, *Moḥammedanism*, p. 115.

[4] Genesis xvii. 10, 23-27.

[5] *vide* Pococke, *Hist. Arab*, p. 319. Herodotus (ii. 14) says that the Phoenicians and Syrians obtained the rite from the Ethiopians and Egyptians who first practised it.

Epiphanius (*Haer.* x.) also says that 'the Ebionites . observed Circumcision.' It is apparent, therefore, that the Muslims merely continued a rite which was, practically, universally observed in Arabia in Muḥammed's time.

CHAPTER XI

ROZA—FASTING

'O believers! a Fast is prescribed to you, as it prescribed to those before you, that ye may fear God.'[1]

Roza, the Fast of Ramadan, imposed at Madina

ROZA,[2] or the Fast during the month of Ramaḍán, is the third practical duty of the Muslims which we have now to consider. The duty of fasting, which is farḍ (i.e. obligatory) and includes abstinence from cohabition as well as from food and drink, seems to have been inculcated by Muḥammad at Madína, as it is only once mentioned in a Meccan Súra [Súratu Maryam (xix) 27], and only historically, not as an injunction to the Faithful. Muḥammad, however, at Madína soon recognised, from the practice of others, the religious significance of imposing such a penance upon his followers, in the added odour of sanctity which it would give them; and as he was at this time anxious to propitiate the Jews, and to bring Islám into harmony with the Jewish ceremonial, he adopted, at first, their fast of the Day of Atonement,[3] for which he afterwards substituted the Fast of Ramaḍán. The rite became so important in Islám, that Muḥammad is said to have called it 'the gate

[1] Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 179.

[2] Roza is a Persian word, and is commonly used by Muslims in India to designate the Fast of Ramaḍán. In Arabic the word Ṣaum is used.

[3] Ibn 'Abbás relates the tradition that Muḥammad, after his arrival in Madína, asked a Jew who was fasting, '"What fast is this which you are keeping?" The Jew said, "This is the great fast; God redeemed Moses and his tribe on this day, and drowned Pharaoh and his tribe; then Moses kept fast on account of gratitude for this benefit, and we keep fast as following him." Then the Prophet said, "We are more worthy, and nearer to Moses than you," and the Prophet kept fast on the day of 'Ashúrá, and ordered his companions to fast on that day.' (*Mishkátu'l-Maṣábíḥ*, bk. vii. chap. vii.)

of religion';[1] and Ghazálí held it to be the fourth part of the Faith.

The fast is observed during the month of Ramaḍán, which is the ninth month of the Muḥammadan year, and the most sacred of all months, as in it the Qur'án was "sent down' for man's guidance and illumination. 'As to the month of Ramaḍán in which the Qur'án was sent down to be man's guidance, . . and illumination, as soon as any of you observeth the moon, let him set about the fast' [Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 181].

Fasting is enjoined during the day only

The observance of this fast is only enjoined during the day, from sunrise to sunset. After sunset, during the night, sanction is given to satisfy every kind of appetite: 'You are allowed on the night of the fast to approach your wives; and eat and drink until ye can discern a white thread from a black thread: then fast strictly till night' [Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 183]. But, at the same time, this day-penance is a mortification of the flesh, especially when Ramaḍán occurs (as it sometimes does, the Muḥammadan year being lunar) in the hot weather. To the poor, and those who have to work all day in the heat to earn their living, it is a very trying ordinance. Yet it is very strictly observed by all Muslims, and the writer has never known it to be unlawfully broken. It is regarded as an atonement for venial sins;[2] and a special door of entrance to Heaven, is reserved for those who observe it.[3]

When broken

The fast is broken if the least drop of water, or morsel of food, voluntarily or involuntarily, pass down the throat; or if a portion of the previous night's meal remains between the teeth; or if an injection is taken, or

[1] The *Mishkát* (bk. vii. ch. i) relates that Muḥammad said, 'There are eight doors in Paradise, one of which is called Rayyán by which none enter but keepers of the Fast'; 'When the month Ramaḍán arrives . . the doors of Paradise are opened, and the doors of hell are shut'; 'The doors of God's mercy are opened.'

[2] *Mishkátu'l-Maṣábíḥ*, bk. vii. chap. i. sect. i.

[3] *vide* above, note 1.

medicine is put into the nose or ears[1]; or if food is vomited; or if the niyyat, or prayer of intention at the beginning of the fast, is not properly made. Should a person thus break the fast, he must observe a qaḍá', or expiatory, fast, which is kept at another time, instead of the one thus broken. The fast of Ramaḍán is, thus, like the Muslim ṣalát, a formal rite, which must be observed according to the letter, otherwise it is rendered null and void. A worshipper who may have undergone all the rigour and discomfort of the ordinance for twenty-nine days, but who, on the last day of the fast, may have, unconsciously, omitted to observe some trivial point connected with it, is guilty of transgression; and, obtaining no credit for his previous self-denial, must fast, again, 'a like number of other days.' When the fast is deliberately broken, heavier penalties are imposed.

The fast of Ramadan, like the salat, a formal rite

There are certain persons exempt from the observance of this 'act of practice.' Children and young people who have not attained the age of puberty, and women during pregnancy, or when nursing their children, and also idiots, are excused altogether. Sick persons and travellers are also exempt, but they are enjoined to fast 'a like number of other days' [Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 181]. The aged, who would have difficulty in observing the rite, must perform ṣadaqa, that is, they must feed a poor person.[2]

Those exempt from the fast of Ramadan

[1] Burton, in his *Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Meccah*, vol. i. p. 74, says (when he was in Cairo preparing for the Ḥajj, disguised as a Muslim doctor), 'I found but one patient who would eat even to save his life.' Much the same difficulty is experienced in the case of Muslim patients in Mission hospitals in India to-day. They either do not know, or are reluctant to take advantage, of the permission given them in the Qur'án to postpone the rite until they are well.

[2] Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 180; This passage, which says 'As for those who are able *to keep it and yet break it*, the expiation of this shall be the maintenance of a poor man,' seems to make fasting optional, and Baiḍáwí (vol. i. p. 101) says that at first it was so, but the passage was abrogated by the next verse (ii. 181), which enjoins the fast of

Origin of the fast of Ramadan

With reference, now, to the origin of the fast of Ramaḍán, we have seen that it was imposed at Madína, after Muḥammad had observed for some time the Jewish fast of the Day of Atonement (p. 136). When the Jews rejected the overtures which Muḥammad made to them, both by Qur'ánic precept and by imitating their customs, and when they scoffed at his claims to prophethood, and scorned the new faith which he inculcated, it was only natural that this Arabian reformer should change his Jewish fast, as he also changed his Jewish Qibla. Hence, in the second year of the Ḥijra, the fast during the whole month of Ramaḍán was appointed by Muḥammad, which superseded the Jewish fast of 'Áshúrá,[1] or the fast of the Tenth (the Day of Atonement).

The ordinance of fasting was adopted from the Jews

But while Muḥammad might discontinue the observance of the Jewish ordinance, and substitute for it another fast with a different period, and mode of observance, the 'act' or ordinance, of fasting was manifestly adopted from the Jews. It is true that the Ṣábians also observed the practice of fasting, and we shall see, presently, that, Muḥammad was indebted to them for the period or duration of his fast, but as the Prophet was aware of their practice, at Mecca, and did not there adopt it, and as he appointed the rite at Madína, when, observing the Jewish fast of the Great Day of Atonement, he realised the religious significance of the ordinance, it is evident that the source

Ramaḍán. Others say that the word 'not' must be understood before 'able,' and the following seven words omitted. The usual interpretation now accepted is that the passage refers to the aged and infirm who have difficulty in observing the fast; *vide Tafsír-i-Ḥusainí*, p. 30; *Tafsír-i-Faiḍu'l-Karím*, p. 120.

[1] Muḥammad, after instituting the fast of Ramaḍán, gave no order concerning the continuance, or prohibition, of the Jewish fast of 'Áshúrá. He seems to have left it to the option of his followers; *vide Mishkát*, bk. vii. ch. vii ['When the fast of Ramaḍán was ordained by divine command, he (Muḥammad) neither ordered us to keep fast on 'Ashúrá, nor forbade it to us']. The Hebrew word 'Ásúr (ten),

of the Muslim practice of fasting must be traced to the Jewish,[1] rather than to the Ṣábian, custom.

Muhammad's injunction concerning the exact time the day (and hence the fast) began is also borrowed from the Jews.

This conclusion is strengthened by the fact, that Muḥammad adopted the Jewish rule as to when the night ends and the day begins. 'On the night of the fast,' the Qur'án says, 'eat and drink until ye can discern a white thread from a black thread by the daybreak' (ii. 183). This is a Talmudic direction, for in *Berákhôth*, fol. 9*b*, the day is said to begin, and prayer (the *Shema'*) is to be said 'From the time a man can distinguish between a blue and a white thread.' The blue and white threads refer to the fringes of the garments worn by the Jews; and Muḥammad's change of 'blue' thread to 'black,' is in accordance with his usual mode of disguising what he borrowed from others.

The thirty days' fast

From whence, we may now ask, did Muḥammad obtain the idea of a thirty days' fast, and especially during the month of Ramaḍán? There is a reference in Súratu'l-A'ráf (vii) 138, to a thirty nights' fast by Moses when on the mount with God, 'which he completed with ten other nights.' In reference to this passage, Muslim commentators say that God, before He gave him the Law, commanded Moses to fast for thirty days, which he did during the whole month of Dhu'lkaada, and that for rubbing his teeth with a dentifrice, he was ordered to fast ten more days. Baiḍáwí and others hold that Moses was commanded to fast for thirty days only,

it will be seen, is retained in the Muslim name, 'Áshúrá, which was given to the fast. This name is also retained in the Muharram festival of mourning for the martyrdom of 'Alí and his two sons, Hasan and Husain. The tenth day, the 'Áshúrá, is the great day of the festival. Some of the rites of the Jewish fast also appear in the Muslim feast of Baqar-'I'd, when Muḥammad at its institution, sacrificed two kids, one for the people, and the other for himself and family.

[1] There are references to fasting in the Canonical and Apocryphal Gospels, which Muḥammad, through his informants, would be acquainted with.

and that God communed with him during the other ten. But Súratu'l-A'ráf (vii) is a Meccan Súra, and while Muḥammad was then evidently aware of the forty days fast of Moses on the Mount (Ex. xxxiv. 28), the event can scarcely be regarded as the source of the Prophet's injunction to his followers to fast for thirty days. The origin of this must be sought elsewhere. We have seen (p. 126), from the account given of the Ṣábian customs, by the Arabic writer, Abú 'Isa'l-Maghribí, that Muḥammad adopted his five periods of daily prayer from the Ṣábian practice. The continuation of the quotation from this writer, which is given above (p. 126), will show that Muḥammad was also indebted to the Ṣábians for his practice of fasting for thirty days. 'They (the Ṣábians) fasted thirty days; and if the month of the new moon were a short one, they kept the fast for twenty-nine days. In connection with their fast they observed the festivals of Fiṭr (i.e. breaking the fast at the end of the thirty days) and Hilál (new moon), in such a way that the festival of Fiṭr occurred when the sun entered Aries. And they used to fast from the fourth quarter of the night until the setting of the disk of the sun.' It is evident from what this author writes, that the period of thirty days during which Musalmáns are enjoined to fast, was adopted by Muḥammad from the Ṣábian custom.[1]

is borrowed from the Sabians

We learn, also, from this ancient writer, that the Muslim 'I'du'l-Fiṭr, or the 'feast of the breaking of the fast,' has its counterpart in the Ṣábian festival of Fiṭr; and, further, that their custom of fasting only during the day coincides with the Ṣábian practice of fasting 'from the fourth quarter of the night until the setting of the disk of

Also the 'Idu'l-Fitr, or the 'feast of the breaking of the fast,' and fasting only during the day, which is also a Jewish practice

[1] Hughes, *Notes on Muḥammadanism*, p. 124, says, 'It is . probable that Muḥammad got his idea of a thirty days' fast from the Christian Lent. The observance of Lent in the Eastern Church was exceedingly strict.' This is scarcely probable, as the Christian fast was for forty days.

the sun.' But the Muslim practice of fasting only during the day may also have been in imitation of the Jews, whose custom was to fast from daybreak until sunset, and the stars begin to appear.[1] The Jews, when fasting, also abstained from cohabition, as well as from food and drink; and young children, and women during pregnancy, or nursing their children, and the aged, are all exempt from the observance,[2] just as in the Muslim practice.

Other borrowings from Judaism

It will be apparent from the foregoing how much Muḥammad was indebted to the Jews for this 'act of practice,' the *Talmud* furnishing him with most of his regulations concerning it.

There is one question yet to be considered in connection with the origin of the fast of Ramaḍán, viz., Why did Muḥammad select the particular month of Ramaḍán for the observance of the rite? This seems to be traceable to a social custom of the Quraish, Muḥammad's own tribe, at Mecca. Ibn Isḥáq relates that the Quraish, 'in the Days of Ignorance,' were accustomed to leave the city and spend the month of Ramaḍán upon Mount Ḥirá, every year in the practice of penance (Taḥannuth).[3] Muhammad himself, we are told, observed this custom yearly, which probably arose by reason of the wealthier classes seeking (as they do in India to-day) a cool retreat from the heat of the plains in the hot season, during which the month of Ramaḍán, at that time, occurred.[4]

Muhammad selected the month of Ramadan for the rite, in pursuance of the custom of the Quraish, who spent that month on Mount Hira.

[1] *Taanith*, fol. 12*a*, 'He may not eat or drink till the sun sets, and two stars at least are seen'; *ibid.* 10*a* 'As soon as it becomes dark on the fast-days, it is allowed to eat and to drink.'

[2] *Yôma*, fol. 82*a*; *Kethubôth*, fol. 50*a*, 'Children exempt—boys, up to thirteen years of age, and girls up to twelve.' *Yôma*, fol. 73*b*, 'Cohabition prohibited.' *Taanith* (*Jer. Tal.*), fol. 64*b*, col. i, 'Pregnant and nursing women exempt.' *Yôma*, fol. 82*a*,' Pregnant women and invalids exempt.'

[3] *Síratu'r-Rasúl*, vol. i. p. 79.

[4] The Muḥammadan year being lunar, the month of Ramaḍán does not always fall in the hot season.

It was during these yearly visits that Muḥammad was brought into contact with the aged Zaid, who had sought peace and retirement from the world at Mount Ḥirá. We have already seen (p. 25) the great influence which this Ḥaníf, or Arabian reformer, who was accused of abandoning the religion of his people, but who claimed to be searching for the 'religion of Abraham,' had exercised upon the character and the teaching of Muḥammad. Sprenger says, 'Muḥammad openly acknowledged Zaid as his precursor, and every word known as Zaid's we find again in the Qur'án.'[1] It was in the cave formerly occupied by Zaid, that Muḥammad first received his 'revelation' from Gabriel. While Muḥammad does not appear to have exercised any kind of abstinence, during these periods of retirement,[2] it is evident, however, that it was in consequence of this social custom of his tribe, that he appointed the month of Ramaḍán as the month in which his ordinance of fasting should be observed.

Muhammad observed this custom, and came under the influence of Zaid, the Hanif

To summarise, briefly, the foregoing remarks; the fast of Ramaḍán has a composite origin. The 'Act' itself, or rite of fasting, was borrowed from the Jews, and also the rule for determining the exact time the fast should commence in the morning. The duration of the fast, or the period of thirty days, was adopted from the Ṣábians, and, probably, from the social custom of the Quraish in spending a month every year upon Mount Ḥirá, near Mecca. The Fiṭr festival of the 'breaking of the fast' was also a Ṣábian custom, as was, also, the Muslim practice of fasting only by day, though Muḥammad may, have adopted this practice from the Jews. The Muslim exemption regulations are similar to those of the Jews; and, finally, the month of Ramaḍán was

Summary of conclusions concerning the origin of the fast

[1] Ḳoelle, *Moḥammed and Moḥammedanism*, p. 53.
[2] His wife, Khadíjah, always accompanied him.

appointed, following the custom of the Quraish just referred to, as this was the month spent by them, and Muḥammad, upon Mount Ḥirá every year in 'the Days of Ignorance.'

CHAPTER XII

ZAKÁT—ALMSGIVING

'O Believers! Give alms of that which we have supplied you, before the day cometh when there shall be no trafficking, nor friendship, nor intercession.'[1]

Zakat, or Almsgiving

THE next 'pillar' of the Muslim religion which we have to consider is Zakát, or Almsgiving. This 'act of practice is a fundamental part of worship ('ibádat), and is an obligatory (farḍ) duty for every Muslim of full age, if he has an adequate income.

Qur'anic injunctions

The duty is frequently commanded in the Qur'án,[2] and the ethical value of the ordinance is also referred to. 'Ye shall never attain to goodness till ye give alms of that which ye love' [Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 86]. The 'act' is said to 'cleanse and purify' the worshippers [Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 104]; and is regarded as 'an approach to God' [Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 100]; and an 'expiation for sin' [Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 273; Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 49]. It is often prescribed in the Qur'án along with prayer. 'Observe prayer and give alms' [Súratu'l-Ḥajj (xxii) 36]; 'Observe prayer and pay the impost' [Súratu'l-Aḥzáb (xxxiii) 33]; 'Observe prayer and pay the legal impost' [Súratu'l-Ḥajj (xxii) 78]. Indeed, the efficacy of prayer is believed to depend upon the proper discharge of this duty. The Khalífa 'Umar Ibn 'Abdu'l-'Azíz was wont to say: 'Prayer carries us half-way to God, fasting brings us to the door of His palace, and alms procures us admission.'

Prescribed with prayer

[1] Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 255.

[2] *vide* Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 40, 77, 104, 269, 273, 277; Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 128; Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 79; Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 15; Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 5, 11, 72; Súratu'l-Ḥajj (xxii) 42; Súratu'n-Núr (xxiv) 37, 55; Súratu'l-Mujádala (lviii) 14.

Muslims distinguish between two kinds of alms, viz., zakát, the legal, or obligatory, alms; and ṣadaqa, or voluntary alms. The amount of the former, and the articles or stock on which the rate is levied, are definitely fixed. The ṣadaqa, or offerings voluntarily given, especially those bestowed upon the poor during the feast of 'I'du'l-Fiṭr, at the close of Ramaḍán, are left to the pleasure of the donors. But, during the namáz at this festival, in the khuṭba, or sermon, preached, the necessity of giving the ṣadaqa is insisted upon. 'Your fasting will not be rewarded, and your prayers will be stayed in their flight to heaven, until you have given the ṣadaqa. O congregation of believers, to give alms is to you a wájib[1] duty. Give to the poor some measures of grain or its money equivalent'—such is the exhortation usually given by the Imám, or leader, at this festival.

Distinction between zakat, or obligatory alms, and the sadaqa, or voluntary alms

With regard to the legal, or obligatory, impost, there are five kinds of property on which zakát must be paid, provided the goods have been in the possession of the person for one year, and he has sufficient for his own maintenance. These are, money, merchandise, live stock, fruits and grains. The amount levied on the first two, is one-fortieth part, or two and a half per cent. On the last two a tithe is taken.[2] The rate for live stock is varied according to the number possessed.[3]

Zakat on what levied, and the rate

At first these alms were intended for 'parents, and kindred, and orphans, and the poor, and the wayfarer' [Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 211]. But after the battle of Ḥunain (A.H. 8), when Muḥammad, to win over the Arab chiefs whom

The recipients of the alms

[1] Wájib means that of which there is doubt concerning its Divine institution. Some authorities make no distinction between wájib and farḍ duties, but they are usually held to be distinct. The ṣadaqa here is a wájib, not a farḍ, duty. *Vide* Mírzá Ghulám Aḥmad, *The Teaching of Islam*, p. 58.

[2] If the fruit is irrigated, only one-twentieth is taken.

[3] In Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 217, the injunction as to what should be given in alms is, 'What ye can spare.'

he had defeated, made princely gifts to them, from his own share of the booty, much discontent and grumbling arose among his own faithful followers, some of whom received nothing at all. To justify his action in bestowing these largesses upon the new converts, and to allay the discontent among his followers, Muḥammad had recourse to another 'revelation,' in which the grumblers are reproved, and a new class added to whom alms should be given : ' Some of them also defame thee in regard to the alms. . Would that they were satisfied with what God and His Apostle had given them. But alms are only to be given to the poor and the needy, and those who collect them, and *to those whose hearts are won to Islám*, and for ransoms, and for debtors, and for the cause of God, and the wayfarer. This is an ordinance from God' [Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 58-60].

A new class added, —'Those whose hearts are won'

This new practice, introduced by Muḥammad, of giving alms (or, in these cases, bribes) for the purpose of spreading the new Faith, was only continued in the early years of Islám. When Islám became strong, and required no such support, but was able to compel obedience and submission by the sword, the custom was abolished by Abú Bakr. 'This zakát was given,' said the Khalífa 'Umar, 'to incline your hearts towards Islám. Now God has prospered Islám. If you be converted it is well ; if not, a sword is between us.'[1] Thus, the sword became, by practice as well as precept, the chief determining factor in the propagation of Islám, although Muḥammad, at first, had expressly said, 'Let there be no compulsion in religion' [Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 257].

The practice of giving alms (bribes) to win converts was abolished by Abu Bakr, when Islam became strong

Nor was the practice discontinued, or held in abeyance, because the motive of its introduction was an

[1] Baiḍáwí, Ḥusain, and others say that the words, ' And to those whose hearts are won to Islám,' have been allowed to fall into disuse. *Baiḍáwí*, vol. i. p. 390 ; *Tafsír-i-Ḥusainí*, vol. i. p. 260. The chiefs who accepted Islám, after the battle of Ḥunain, were known as ' those whose hearts are won.'

unworthy one in the propagation of religion; but simply because Islám became dominant, and could not be rejected under peril of the sword.

The origin of the Muslim practice of almsgiving is Jewish

The origin of this Muslim 'act of practice' is also traceable to the Jews. This may be seen, first, from the etymology of the terms used in the Qur'án to designate the ordinance. Zakát and ṣadaqa are both of Jewish derivation.[1] The former signifies 'purification,' as in the passage, 'Give alms and behold, all things are clean unto you' (Luke xi. 41).

This is seen, first, from the etymology of the Qur'anic terms used to designate the practice

Ṣadaqa means 'righteousness,' as in Matt. vi. 1, 'Take heed that ye do not your alms' (i.e. righteousness,[3] Δικαιοσύνη) 'before men.' And in Proverbs x. 2, 'righteousness' (i.e. alms צְדָקָה, tsedaqah) 'delivereth from death.'[4] We shall see, presently, that the same word, 'righteousness'—is used in the *Talmud*[5] for the practice, but the references already given are sufficient to indicate that Muḥammad was indebted to Judaism for the terms he adopted to express his practice of almsgiving.

And, also, from the Jewish practice,

Further, from the Jewish origin of the terms, it may be inferred that almsgiving was a common practice among the Jews; and a reference to the Levitical law clearly reveals this. The duty was distinctly enjoined

[1] *vide* Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, p. 418, note 1.

[2] 'They are called zakát, either because they increase a man's store by drawing down a blessing thereon, and produce in his soul the virtue of liberality, or because they purify the remaining part of one's substance from pollution, and the soul from the filth of avarice; and ṣadaqa, because they are a proof of a man's sincerity in the worship of God.' Sale, *Prelim. Disc.* sect. iv. pp. 84-5; *vide* also Mírzá Ghulám Aḥmad, *The Teaching of Islám*, p. 58.

[3] *Vide* Eng. Bible, marg. note; cf. 2 Cor. ix. 10; Psalms xxxvii. 21; cxii. 5, 6; Proverbs x. 7 ('Just,' here, means 'righteous'); *vide* Mírzá Ghulám Aḥmad, *The Teaching of Islám*, p. 62.

[4] Cf. Psalm xxxvii, 21; and last references.

[5] *Rósh Hashsháñáh*, fol. 16*b*. *Baba Bathra*, fol. 10*b*.

as commanded in the Old Testament;

upon them by Divine authority. The corners of their fields, the gleanings of their harvest, and of their vineyards, were to be left for 'the poor and the stranger' (Lev. xix. 9, 10); and all the tithes of their increase belonged to the Lord (Lev. xxvii. 30), and were to be 'given unto the Levite, and the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow' (Deut. xxvi. 12). That the duty, here prescribed, was scrupulously discharged by the Jews, we know from the

and exemplified

writings of the Old and New Testament Scriptures. Boaz allowed Ruth to 'glean even among the sheaves, and she gleaned 'unto the end of . . harvest.'[1] The 'Children of the Covenant' were zealous, also, in the tithing[2] of their goods, remembering, perhaps, the Divine blessing attached thereto.[3] In New Testament

also in the New Testament

times the practice was sedulously followed. The Pharisee, in the parable, gave 'tithes of all' he possessed,[4] and so scrupulous was this sect of the Jews in their observance of the minutiæ of the ordinance, as to tithe 'mint and rue and all manner of herbs,' that our Lord reprimanded them for doing so, and neglecting 'the weightier matters of the Law, judgement, mercy, and faith.'[5] There are examples, also, of munificent almsgiving, greatly in excess of what the Law demanded. Zacchaeus, in joyful gratitude to Jesus, gave the half of his goods to the poor;[6] 'Dorcas . was full of good works and almsdeeds, and Cornelius, the devout, Gentile centurion, in imitation doubtless of the Jews, 'gave much alms to the people.'[8] These references are sufficient to show that almsgiving, in accordance with Divine instruction, was an established custom among the Jews both in Old and New Testament times.

Moreover, the *Talmud* discloses, that almsgiving

[1] Ruth ii. 15, 23. [2] Neh. xiii. 12; cf. xii. 44.
[3] Deut. xiv. 29; Psa. xli i; Pro. xiv. 21; xix. 17; Mal. iii. 10.
[4] Luke xviii. 12. [5] Matt. xxiii. 23; Luke xi. 42
[6] Luke xix. 8. [7] Acts ix. 36.
[8] Acts x. 2.

became a prominent feature in later Judaism. Several tractates contain many specific references to this duty. In *Baba Bathra*, it is said: Almsgiving" (quoting Prov. xiv. 34, which, in the English version, has "righteousness"), צְדָקָה "exalteth a nation," that is to say, the nation of Israel.'[1] And in *Rôsh Hashshânâh*, alms is said to be one of the 'four things' which 'cancel the decrees of Heaven: Alms as it is written (Prov. x. 2), "But alms (more correctly, righteousness) delivereth from death."'[2] Again, it is said, 'Alms delivers from death and suffereth not to come into darkness.'[3] The Qur'án says, that almsgiving 'cleanses and purifies,' and is 'an approach to God. The *Talmud* says, 'he who gives . is pious.'[4] The Qur'án says, that almsgiving is an 'expiation for sin.' The *Talmud* says, it delivers from Hell,[3] and entitles to Heaven.[5]

Talmudic references

The *Talmud* contains many other references to the virtue, and necessity, and the rewards of almsgiving,[6] but from what has already been said, it is clear that, just as Muḥammad was indebted to the Jews for his act, or practice, of fasting, so to Judaism was he indebted for his practice of almsgiving, although he altered, in many respects, the details or regulations in connexion with both ordinances.

This conclusion is further confirmed by a reference to the *Apocryphal Gospels*, and other such writings, with

[1] *Baba Bathra*, fol. 10*b*; *Gittin*, fol. 7*b*. Note in this, and the following, quotation, that attention is drawn to the Hebrew word which is used for alms, and which means, more correctly, righteousness: *vide* p. 148.

[2] *Rôsh Hashshânâh*, fol. 16*b*.

Tobit, iv. 10.

Baba Kama, fol. 7; cf. *Pirqêy Âbôth*, chap. v. sect. 19.

[5] *Rôsh Hashshânâ*, fol. 16*b*.

[6] R. 'Aqiba 'used to say, tradition is a fence to the Torah; tithes are a fence to riches' (*Pirqêy Âbôth*, chap. iii, sect. 20). *Vide Âbôth d' Rab. Nathan*, chap. xli ('He who gives alms brings a blessing on himself).'

The Apocryphal writings confirm this conclusion

which Muḥammad seems to have been more familiar than with the Canonical Books of Scripture; and from which, we have seen when treating of the sources of the Faith of Islám, he drew not a few of his Qur'ánic 'revelations.' As prayer and alms are frequently referred to jointly in the Qur'án, so they are found mentioned in these writings. In the *Gospel of the Birth of Mary*, we read that

The Gospel of the Birth of Mary

the angel of the Lord appeared to Joachim, and said to him, 'Your prayers are heard, and your alms ascended in the sight of God.'[1] The *Protevangelion* says, 'Joachim . being very

The Protevangelion

rich, made double offerings to the Lord God, having made this resolution: My substance shall be for the benefit of the whole people, and that I may find mercy from the Lord God for the forgiveness of my sins.'[2] The *Gospel of the Infancy*[3]

The Gospel of the Infancy

contains references to offerings; and the *Epistle of Clement* has the exhortation, 'Do whatsoever our Lord has commanded us to do.

The Epistle of Clement

And particularly that we perform our offerings and service to God at their appointed seasons . They, therefore, who make their offerings at the appointed seasons, are happy and accepted they are free from sin.'[4] In the *Epistle of*

The Epistle of Barnabas

Barnabas we also read, 'Thou shalt also labour with thy hands to give to the poor that thy sins may be forgiven thee.'[5]

It is unnecessary to pursue this question further. But while it is evident, from the above, that Muḥammad

Differences between the Muslim and the Jewish ordinances

borrowed his fourth 'act of practice' from the Jews,[6] he did not, however, adopt the Jewish rite in its entirety.

[1] Chap. ii. 3; cf. Acts x. 4 (Cornelius).
[2] Chap. i. 1. [3] Chap. ii. 5; iii. 1.
[4] *I. Clement*, xviii. 13, 14, 16.
[5] Chap. xiv. 20; The Greek is, 'For the redemption of thy sins.' cf. Daniel, iv. 27.
[6] There is a passage in the Qur'án which indicates that Muḥammad had the Jewish practice in his mind when he instituted the ordinance.

There are differences between the Jewish and the Muslim ordinance, as regards both the amount demanded, and the purpose for which it is given. The Jewish tithe did not become the Muslim regulation, which in some things was more, and in others less, than the tenth.[1] Nor was the Muslim zakát given for the maintenance of the Muslim priesthood,[2] although the tithes of the Jews were given for the support of the Priests and Levites.[3]

Muḥammad seems, also, to have been aware of the old Pharisaic custom of giving 'alms before men,' and of our Lord's injunction to observe the practice 'in secret'; so he countenances both these methods. 'Give ye your alms openly? It is well. Do ye conceal them and give them to the poor? This, too, will be of advantage to you, and will do away your sins' [Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 273]. 'They who give away their substance in alms, by night and by day, in private and in public, shall have their reward with their Lord' [Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 275].

Muhammad sanctions the giving of alms publicly, and in private

It is only right, and fair to Islám, to say that, in its provision for supplying the needs of indigent Muslims, it is worthy of much commendation. In India the Hindú mendicant is ubiquitous; the Muslim beggar is a *rara avis*. When travelling in Egypt and Palestine,

Islam is worthy of commendation in its provision for the poor

Referring to the gardens and trees of his followers, he said, 'Eat of their fruit . . and pay the due thereof *on the day of its ingathering* [Súratu'l-An'ám (vi) 142]. Compare this with the command given to Israel to bring 'The first of the first fruits of thy land into the house of the Lord' (Ex. xxiii. 19).

There is another Qur'ánic injunction, in connexion with almsgiving, very similar to a direction given by Moses. In Súratu' l-Baqara (ii) 216, 217, we read, 'They will ask thee also what they shall bestow in alms: Say, What ye can spare.' In Deut. xvi. 17, the precept is, 'Every man shall give as he is able.' The New Testament has a similar instruction: 'Give alms as you are able' (see marginal reference, Luke xi. 41).

[1] A fifth part is exacted from whatever is found in mines; twentieth part of irrigated fruits.

[2] There is land set apart for the support of the Maulavi and 'Ulama of Islâm; also offerings are given to them at the time of harvest. [3] Number xviii. 11-14, 21, 24.

this feature of Islám was, also, noticed by the writer. While the word 'bakhshish'[1] was most frequently heard at every place we visited, it was used mostly by young people who appeared well-fed and in no need of charitable relief, and also by some others who could scarcely be reckoned poor, but who regarded the sáhib as their legitimate prey, sent perhaps by Alláh to enrich them with as much money as they were able, by any means, to extort from him![2]

[1] A Persian word, very commonly used by beggars, meaning gift, or gratuity.

[2] Although not in any need of charitable relief, the cupidity of these Muslims, the writer thinks, accounts for their practice of begging from European visitors, and for their persistence in demanding substantial 'bakhshish' for the slightest service rendered, if only to direct the traveller on his way, or guide him through a town. Even the presence of the visitor seems to excite their avarice, and to cause expectations of gratuities. Perhaps the writer may be pardoned a personal reference to illustrate this. When in Samaria, on our way to Jerusalem, having left my wife in the courtyard of a tomb, which is said to be that of St. John, I went to photograph in the town, with my guide, a Syrian Christian. During my absence, several Turks gathered round my wife, and one of them, noticing the ring on her finger, tried to draw it off. Failing in this, he drew his dagger, and, by signs, threatened personal violence, if she did not give him the ring. I arrived back at the critical moment, and this person gave no more trouble. But when we had mounted our horses, and attempted to leave, having offered a 'bishlik' (10d) as a gratuity, the reins of my pony were seized by a Turk who, though he had done nothing for us, intimated that I must give him a 'medjidi' (3/6) before I could leave. This was mere bluff, and when he saw I was not to be intimidated, releasing the reins, he asked for the 'bishlik,' which I gave him, and we were allowed to proceed on our way, without further molestation.

CHAPTER XIII

THE ḤAJJ, OR PILGRIMAGE TO MECCA

'Proclaim to the people a PILGRIMAGE. . Let them pay their vows, and circuit the Ancient House.'[1]

WE have come now to the consideration of the fifth, and last, 'pillar,' or foundation of practice, of Islám, namely, the Ḥajj, or Pilgrimage to Mecca, which will, therefore, complete our inquiry into the sources of Islám.

The importance, and virtue, of the Hajj

The Pilgrimage to Mecca, and the observance of all the ceremonies in connexion with it, at least once in a person's life, is a farḍ duty, incumbent upon every Musalmán who is able[2] to accomplish it. The Qur'án explicitly says, it 'is a service due to God,'[3] and Muslims regard it as the most important rite of their religion, because it is the consummation of all the other ceremonies of Islám. The merits of the Ḥajj are so great, that it is believed to be 'the surest way to salvation and Paradise.'[4] 'Every step taken towards the Ka'ba[5] in

[1] Súratu'l-Ḥajj (xxii) 28, 30.

[2] Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 91. The words 'who are able' in this passage, Baiḍáwí says, refer to the possession of sufficient means for the accomplishment of the journey. Imám Abú Ḥanífa says they refer both to the means and the strength of the person. *Baiḍáwí*, vol. i. p. 147.

[3] Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 91.

[4] Stated in Memorial of Pilgrims, sent to the Viceroy of India, 1895.

[5] The Ka'ba (lit., a cube) is the oblong stone building in the centre of the Musjidu'l-Ḥarám, or sacred Mosque of Mecca, which is also called Baitu'lláh, or the House of God. The Ka'ba contains the ḥajaru'l-aswad, or black stone, about seven inches in diameter, which is set in silver, and fixed in the south-east corner of the building. This stone, which is probably a meteorite, is said, according to tradition, to have come from Paradise, and to have been, originally, whiter than milk, but became black by the sins of those who touched it. On the

the sacred Temple of Mecca, is supposed to blot out a sin, and the pilgrim who dies on his way to Mecca, is reckoned a martyr of the faith, and is thus assured of an entrance into Heaven, and of those sensual joys which attend the martyrs there.

The Qur'ánic injunctions to observe this 'act of practice' are found in several Súras, and are endorsed by the sunnat, or practice of Muḥammad. 'Proclaim to the people a PILGRIMAGE; Let them come to thee on foot and on every fleet camel, arriving by every deep defile: That they may bear witness of its benefits to them, and may make mention of God's name on the appointed days, over the brute beasts with which He hath supplied them for sustenance: Therefore eat thereof yourselves, and feed the needy, the poor: Then let them bring the neglect of their persons to a close, and let them pay their vows, and circuit the Ancient House' [Súratu'l-Ḥajj (xxii) 28-30]. We shall see, later, that this passage contains directions concerning several ceremonies of the Ḥajj. In Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 98, Muḥammad says, 'God hath appointed the Ka'ba, the sacred House, to be a station for mankind, and the sacred month, and the offering, and its ornaments.' Further, in Súratu Âli 'Imran (iii) 91, he says, 'The Pilgrimage to the Temple is a service due to God, from those who are able to journey thither.' And in Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 192, the command is, 'Accomplish the Pilgrimage, and the Visitation[1] of the holy places in honour of God.'

Qur'anic injunctions for the observance of the Hajj

These 'divine' injunctions were confirmed by the practice of the Prophet (and of his companions),[2] who

Day of Judgement it will, it is said, be able to see and also have the power of speech, and so will bear witness in favour of those who have kissed it.

[1] This refers to the 'Umra, or 'Little Pilgrimage,' which can be performed at any time, except on the days of the 'Greater Pilgrimage.' Animal sacrifice is not a part of the 'Umra. *Vide* Burton's *Pilgrimage to al-Madínah and Meccah*, vol. ii. ch. xxxii. pp. 241-246.

[2] The companions (Aṣḥáb) of the Prophet were those in constant intercourse with him.

Confirmed by the practice of the Prophet and of his companions

several times performed the Pilgrimage, and observed all the rites connected with it. This was, of course, after he had overcome the hostility of the Meccans and practically the whole of Arabia was subdued by the warrior-prophet.

A practice so expressly commanded, and observed, by Muḥammad, could not but exercise a deep impression, and have a binding effect, upon his followers, who were ever ready to follow, unquestioningly, in the footsteps of the Prophet; and, connected as the practice was with a sacred Arab shrine, hallowed by its antiquity, and glorified by its reputed Abrahamic origin, it doubtless helped to reconcile the Arabs to the acceptance of a Faith which, by force of arms, had made itself dominant throughout Arabia, and which they were now no longer able to resist.

The effect of the practice upon the Arabs

The practice, however, has become a burden to a great part of the Muḥammadan world, who live far distant from the holy city with its hallowed shrine. So long as the sway of the Crescent was confined to Arabia, 'the institution of the Ḥajj Pilgrimage,' as Palmer says,[1] 'was an admirable one for consolidating the Arab tribes'; but when the power of Islám was extended to other lands, where its followers multiplied and are now counted by millions, to impose on them, as obligatory in the service of God, a rite which, we will see, is only a relic of heathendom, and which, for the great majority of Muslims is impossible of accomplishment—this, surely, was to lay on them 'that for which' they 'have not strength' to bear, and does more perhaps to falsify the pretensions of Islám to be a divine revelation than any other institution founded by Muḥammad. A rite, which Muslims believe to be 'the surest way to Salvation and Paradise,' but the benefits of which may be denied them, by circumstances over

Burdensome to a great part of the Muhammadan world

[1] *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. vi. p. lxxvi.

which they have no control, cannot be regarded as of divine appointment.[1]

Let us now see what the ceremonies of the Ḥajj consist in. It should be noted, first, that, while preparations for the Pilgrimage can be made during the tenth and eleventh months of the Muḥammadan year (i.e. during Shawwál, and Dhu'l-Qa'da), the actual Pilgrimage can only be done on three days of the twelfth month, Dhu'l-Ḥijja, namely, from the seventh to the tenth. The Qur'ánic command is 'Let the Pilgrimage be made in the months already known' [Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 193].

The ceremonies of the Hajj

At the appointed time, therefore, pilgrims, from all parts of the world, arrive at the stages[2] on the different roads leading to Mecca. Here they divest themselves of their own clothing, bathe, pare their nails, offer up two prayers, and then put on the Iḥrám, or pilgrim's sacred garb, which consists of two seamless pieces of cloth, one of which is wound round the waist, and the other is thrown over the shoulders. After saying the niyyat, or prayer of intention, namely, 'O God. I purpose to make the Ḥajj; make this service easy to me, and accept it from me,' the pilgrim, wearing only sandals, proceeds towards Mecca. From this time until the Pilgrimage has been completed, the head and the face must remain unwashed and unshaven [Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 192]; all intercourse with women, and all wrangling and bad language, are prohibited [Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 193]; nor is hunting, and the killing of game allowed [Suratu'l-Má'ida (v) 96,

The pilgrims assume the sacred garb, at a stage on the road to Mecca.

Precepts to be observed during the Hajj

[1] Maulavi Rafí'u'dín Aḥmad, writing in the *Nineteenth Century*, October, 1897, said, 'The Ḥajj cleanses the hearts of men and makes them innocent like new-born babes.' Any Muslim who is able to make the pilgrimage, and who fails to do so, is considered guilty of mortal sin. Ghazálí relates a Tradition of Muḥammad that he who dies without performing the Pilgrimage may as well die a Jew or a Christian.

[2] These are called Míqát, and are six in number. They are situated about six miles from Mecca, on the various roads leading to it.

97].[1] The pilgrim is now within the holy territory, and the 'truce of God' must be kept. All his attention must now be given to the performance of the holy ritual, and all worldly thoughts and affairs must be abandoned.

On entering the city or the Mosque, the pilgrim says the Talbíya,[2] repeating 'Labbaik, Alláhumma, Labbaik! Labbaik.' 'Here I am! O Alláh! Here I am! There is no God but Thee! Truly, praise and bounty, and the kingdom are to Thee! No partner hast Thou! Here am I!'

The pilgrim kisses the black stone, and goes round the Ka'ba seven times

On entering the Mosque, and approaching the Ka'ba, praying all the time, he kisses the black stone, which is fixed in the south-east corner of the Ka'ba on the outside; or if that be impossible, on account of the crowd, he must touch it with his hand or with a stick, and then kiss his hand or the stick that touched it. He then encompasses the Ka'ba seven times,[3] three times running and four times walking slowly.[4]

The pilgrim next proceeds to the place of Abraham (Maqámu'l-Ibráhím),[5] where he prays and repeats Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 119, 'Remember when we appointed the Holy House as man's resort and safe retreat, and said, "Take ye the station of Abraham for a place of prayer" And we commanded Abraham and Ishmael, "Purify my

[1] Fishing, however, is allowed, and the eating of fish [Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 97]; also the killing of five kinds of harmful animals, viz., a scorpion, a kite, a crow, a rat, and a mad dog (*Ṣaḥíḥu'l-Bukhárí*, vol. i. p. 458).

[2] Talbíya means the repetition of 'Labbaik,' which corresponds to 'I am here.'

[3] This is called the *Ṭawáf* ceremony. Shahrastání says that the Arabs believed it to be symbolical of the motion of the planets round the sun.

[4] This is according to the practice of the Prophet. *Rauḍátu'ṣ-Ṣafá*, Pt. II. vol. ii. p. 694.

[5] This is a small building within the Mosque, where there is a stone much revered by Muslims, as Abraham is said to have stood on it when building the Mosque. It is now enclosed in an iron case from which water from the sacred well, Zamzam, is drunk by the pilgrims.

House for those who shall go in procession round it, and those who shall abide there for devotion, and those who shall bow down and prostrate themselves."' The 'unity' Súra [Súratu'l-Ikhláṣ (cxii)] is also repeated, after which water is drunk from the sacred well, Zamzam,[1] and the pilgrim returns to the ḥajaru'l-aswad, and again kisses it.

Runs seven times between the summits of Mount Safa and Mount Marwa

Having offered his devotions, and observed these ceremonies in the Sacred Mosque, he then leaves it by the gate leading to Mount Ṣafá. He ascends this hill, and, on reaching its summit, runs seven times between it and the summit of Mount Marwa,[2] praying as he runs for pardon and pity, and for deliverance from the fire. This duty is performed in accordance with the practice of the Prophet, and with the Qur'ánic direction given in Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 153, 'Verily Ṣafá and Marwa are among the monuments of God: Whoever then maketh a Pilgrimage to the Temple, or visiteth it, shall not be to blame if he go round about them both.'

Visits Mina, and observes the salat

On the eighth day the pilgrim goes to Miná, which is about three miles distant from Mecca. Here he unites with the other pilgrims in observing the Muslim ṣalát, and remains the night.

In the morning, after the ṣalátu'l-fajr (morning prayer), he proceeds to Mount 'Arafát,[3] where he prays,

[1] This is supposed to be the spring which appeared for the relief of Ishmael. To quench Ishmael's thirst, Gabriel is said to have stamped with his foot, and this spring appeared.

[2] This is called the as-sa'í bainu's-Ṣafá wa'l-Marwa ceremony, and is said to represent the wanderings of Hagar to find water for Ishmael. The pilgrims sometimes walk, and sometimes stop and look back, as if looking for something as Hagar did when searching for water.

[3] 'Arafát is a mountain near Mecca, so called because Adam, when cast out of Paradise, met and recognised Eve there, after many years' separation. The legend is, that Adam fell upon the island of Ceylon, and Eve upon 'Arafát. After a separation of 200 years, Gabriel guided Adam, when he had repented, to this mountain of Mercy, where Eve was constantly calling for Adam ; their recognition gave the mountain the name of 'Arafát. *Vide* Burton's *Pilgrimage to al-Madînah and Meccah*, vol. ii. chap. xxviii. p. 188.

Goes to Mount 'Arafat

stands upon the spot, or near to it, which Muḥammad is said to have occupied. Here he also listens to the sermon of the Imám, in which he instructs the pilgrims in the remaining rites of the Ḥajj. He remains here until sunset, and then goes to Muzdalífa, a place about half-way between Miná and 'Arafát where he says the ṣalátu'l-maghrib and the ṣalátu'l-'ishá' together, and remains for the night.

Thence to Muzdalifa;

At daybreak next morning, which is the tenth day, the 'Īdu'ḍ-Ḍuḥá, or as it is also called the 'Īdu'l-Aḍḥá, or great feast, he visits the Masharu'l-Ḥarám, or sacred monument,[1] and having collected seven small stones, he again proceeds to Miná. In this valley of Miná there are three pillars, one of which is called the 'great devil' (ash-shaiṭánu'l-kabír). Here the pilgrim, having prayed over each pebble, throws them singly at one of the pillars, saying, 'In the name of Alláh, and Alláh is Almighty (I do this) in hatred of the Fiend and to his shame.' This ceremony is called Ramyu'l-jamr, or the throwing of stones.

and back, again, to Mina, the next morning

where there are three pillars, at which the pilgrim casts seven stones

On the same day, in the place of sacrifice at Miná, the pilgrim, finally, offers up a sacrifice of animals. The ceremony is called the 'Īdu'l-Aḍḥá, and, also, the 'Īdu'ḍ-Ḍuḥá, or the feast of sacrifice. Part of this sacrifice is eaten by the pilgrim, and the rest is given to the poor. The Qur'ánic reference to this ceremony is, 'Ye may obtain advantages from the cattle up to the set time for slaying them; then the place for sacrificing them is at the Ancient House. And the camels have we appointed you for the sacrifice to God' [Súratu'l-Ḥajj (xxii) 34, 37].[2]

Then, finally, offers up an animal sacrifice at Mina

[1] Súratu'l Baqara (ii) 194, 'When ye pour swiftly from 'Arafát, then remember God near the holy monument.' This is a place where, it is said, Muḥammad stood communing with God, till his face became shining.

[2] Cf. Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 192. ' until the offering reach the place of sacrifice.'

The ceremonies connected with the Ḥajj are now ended, and the Pilgrimage, properly speaking, is finished. The pilgrim is now a Ḥájí, that is, one who has performed the Ḥajj.

This completes the Pilgrimage

Commanded to 'bring the neglect of their persons to a close' (xxii. 30), the Ḥájí now shaves his head, pares his nails, and removes the Iḥrám.

The next three days[1] are spent resting, and in making preparations for the return journey. During these days, however, the Ḥájí again visits Miná, and each day casts seven stones at each of the pillars. He then returns to Mecca and makes the farewell circuit[2] of the Ka'ba, after which, with tears, and prayers, and many expressions of regret, he leaves its sacred precincts, and the Pilgrimage is ended.

Such are the ceremonies of the Ḥajj, the recital of which, were it not for the earnestness of the pilgrims, forcibly reminds one of a burlesque, or melodramatic show.

The origin of these peculiar religious rites of the Ḥajj is not difficult to trace. They were, practically, all borrowed from heathen practices of the Arabs. Long before Muḥammad's time the Pilgrimage to the Ka'ba, the wearing of the Iḥrám,[3] shaving the head, running between Ṣafá and Marwa, the circuit of the Ka'ba, kissing the ḥajaru'l-aswad, the casting of the stones, and the sacrifice of animals at Miná,[4]

Origin of the ceremonies of the Pilgrimage

Almost all borrowed from heathen

[1] These days (from the 11th to the 13th) are called Ayyámu't-tashríq, or 'days of drying flesh.' Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 199, 'Bear God in mind during the stated days' (i.e. three days after slaying the sacrifice); 'but if any haste away in two days, it shall be no fault in him and if any tarry longer, it shall be no fault in him, if he fear God.'

[2] The farewell circuit is called ṭawáfu'l-widá'.

[3] Abú'l-Fidá says so (*Hist. Ante-Islámica*, ed. Fleischer, p. 180) but others affirm that the heathen Arabs performed the ceremony of going round the Ka'ba naked, and that Muḥammad introduced the wearing of the Iḥrám; *vide* Súratu'l-A'ráf (vii) 25, 29, 30. Also Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, Introd. p. cii; Sale, *Prelim. Discourse*, p. 94.

[4] J. M. Arnold (*Islám*, p. 28) says, 'The valley of Miná was as much the place of religious resort before Muḥammad, as it has been since the days of Islámite Pilgrimage to the Ka'ba.'

practices of the Arabs

were customs observed by the heathen Arabs, and were all incorporated by Muḥammad into Islám, as the great culminating rite of his religion, 'which professes to be monotheistic in principle and iconoclastic in practice.'

Islam condemned in the Hajj,

It is, therefore, in these absurd rites of the Ḥajj, that Islám finds its severest condemnation, and the falsity of Muḥammad's pretended revelations is amply demonstrated. The Ḥajj was Muḥammad's compromise with Arabian Paganism. The prophet was an Arab patriot, and, as mentioned at the beginning of this thesis, he conceived his mission to be, not only to recall the people to the 'faith of Abraham,' but to achieve also the unification of the Arab race, whose scattered tribes were then living in disunion, often at war with each other, and without any recognized head or central authority in Arabia. Towards the accomplishment of his purpose the 'master mind' of Arabia was not slow to recognise the importance of this ancient Arab custom of the Ḥajj, which all the Arab tribes had in common, and which appealed strongly to their national sentiment. It was indelibly engraven upon their minds by its very antiquity, and endeared to them by its connection with their sacred shrine, the Ka'ba. Muḥammad, moreover, realised that, while he could uproot the practice of idolatry by means of the sword, he was unable to eradicate from the minds of the people the superstitious beliefs connected with the practice, and their reverence for their sacred shrine at Mecca. An opportunist in sacred, as well as in secular, affairs, Muḥammad, therefore, compromised with Arab Paganism, towards the close of his career, as he had done once before, at the commencement of his Mission. He admitted as a rite of Islám an idolatrous practice of the Arabs, which had been in vogue among them from time immemorial,[1]

which was Muhammad's compromise with Arabian Paganism

[1] Prof. D. S. Margoliouth, (*Mohammedanism*, p. 119) says, in reference to the ceremonies of the Pilgrimage, 'all apparently go back

Suratu'l-Ma'ida (v) 5 gives Divine sanction to the Hajj, as the culminating rite of Islam

and gave to it the authority of Divine sanction. The verse, 'This day have I perfected your religion unto you, fulfilled my mercy upon you, and appointed for you Islám to be your faith' [Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 5], is said to have been delivered by Muḥammad, when he ascended Mount 'Arafát, during his observance of the Pilgrimage.[1] Divine sanction has thus been given, in the Qur'án, to the Ḥajj, as the great culminating, or perfecting, rite of Islám.

Muhammad lowered his flag to heathenism, in order to win the Arabs to Islam

But while Muḥammad, by this concession to heathenism, gained the allegiance of the Arabs to Islám, and thus welded the scattered tribes together in a national and spiritual bond, it must be admitted, even by the friends of Islám, that, by his adoption of, and proclaiming Divine sanction to, an idolatrous custom, which antagonizes our conception of Deity, and is at variance with the character of Divine enactments, the Prophet of Arabia lowered his flag to Paganism, and stained the purity of the white standard of Islám.

Opinions of writers on Islam, in support of above statements

In support of the above, it may not be out of place here to quote the opinions of some writers on Islám, concerning the Ḥajj. Hughes says,[2] 'The Pilgrimage to Mecca is one of the numerous inconsistencies of Muḥammad's pretended revelation.'

Hughes

'In its institution the false prophet layeth open his own folly, for in the ridiculous ceremonies of the Ḥajj, we see the law-giver, whose professed mission it was to uproot the idolatry of Arabia, giving one of its superstitious customs the authority of a Divine enactment.'[3]

Kuenen

Kuenen calls the ceremonies of the Ḥajj 'a fragment of

to a remote antiquity, and the original association of most of them can only be divined.'

[1] *Rauḍatu's-Ṣafá*, Part II. vol. ii. p. 696.

[2] *Notes on Muḥammadanism*, p. 132. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 131, 132.

incomprehensible heathenism taken up undigested into Islám.'[1] Sale says,[2] 'The Pilgrimage to Mecca, and the ceremonies prescribed to those who perform it, are, perhaps, liable to greater exception than any other of Muḥammad's institutions; not only as silly and ridiculous in themselves, but as relics of idolatrous superstition.' Sell says,[3] 'It is certainly very curious to find the old pagan customs, superstitious and silly, of the Ḥajj incorporated into a religion which professes to be monotheistic in principle and iconoclastic in practice.' Muir says,[4] 'The ceremonies of Pilgrimage . . handed down by Cossai' (the heathen ancestor of Muḥammad), 'were substantially the same as we find them in the time of Mahomet; and, with some modifications introduced by Mahomet himself, the same as practiced at the present day. The centre of them all is the Ka'ba . . The worship of the Ka'ba' (i.e. before Muḥammad's time) 'was active and vigorous, and its directors exercised a wonderful influence over the whole of Arabia. The practices then enforced were superseded only by Islám. The reverence for the Ka'ba, which permitted the imposition of customs so unreasonable and oppressive, must necessarily have been grossly superstitious as well as widely prevalent.' 'The rites of the Ka'ba were retained' (by Muḥammad, and) 'they still hang, a strange unmeaning shroud, around the living theism of Islám.'

Sale

Sell

Muir

That these statements of English writers on Islám

[1] *Hibbert Lectures*, 1882, p. 33.

[2] *Koran, Prel. Discourse*, p. 94. The writer must dissent from Sale's further statement, that we 'must excuse Muḥammad's yielding some points' to Paganism, as 'herein he followed the example of the most famous legislators, who instituted not such laws as were absolutely the best in themselves, but the best their people were capable of receiving' (p. 95). Sale seems to have overlooked the fact that the progressive stage of Old Testament revelation had been closed six centuries before the rise of Islám.

[3] *Faith of Islám*, 4th ed. p. 410.

[4] *Life of Mahomet*, Intro. pp. lxxxviii, xciii, cii, ciii.

are just, and in accordance with fact, may be proved from the testimony of ancient Arabic, and other, writers on the subject. Abú'l-Fidá writes,[1] 'The Arabs of the times of ignorance used to do things which the religious law of Islám has adopted. . They used, moreover, to make the Pilgrimage (Ḥajj) to the House,[2] and visit the consecrated places, and wear the Iḥrám,[3] and perform the Ṭawáf, and run,[4] and take their stand at all the stations, and cast the stones.' Ibn Isḥáq, who is the earliest biographer of the Prophet, whose writings have come down to us through Ibn Hishám, bears similar testimony to that of Abú'l-Fidá, and adds that the rites were practised in the time of Abraham.[5]

Abu'l-Fida testifies to the pagan origin of the rites of the Pilgrimage

Ibn Ishaq corroborates Abu'l-Fida's statement

Herodotus, we have seen (p. 23), refers to the heathen deities worshipped by the Arabs, and in the same book[6] mentions the Arab custom of shaving their hair around their temples, and that they used seven stones when taking an oath.

References to Arab customs by Herodotus

Diodorus Siculus, who flourished in the century before the Christian Era, refers to a shrine, honoured by all the Arabs, which was probably the Ka'ba.[7] And the Arabic writer, Abú 'Isá'l-Maghribí, says, 'The Ṣábians used to honour the House of Mecca.'[8]

Diodorus Siculus refers, probably, to the Ka'ba

These last two references indicate, at least, the antiquity of the Ka'ba, but from the other references given, and particularly from the testimony of Abú'l-Fidá which Ibn Isḥáq corroborates, it is clear that the heathen rites of the Pilgrimage, which the Arabs practised in

[1] *Hist. Ante-Islámica*, ed. Fleischer, p. 18.
[2] i.e. the Ka'ba. [3] *vide ante*, p. 161, note 3.
[4] i.e. between Ṣafá and Marwa.
[5] Sirátu'r-Rasúl, Part I. p. 27. The reference to Abraham is scarcely probable.
[6] Lib. III. chap. viii. [7] *Diod. Sic.*, Lib. III.
[8] Quoted by Abú'l-Fidá, *At Tawáríkhu'l Qadímah* (*Hist. Ante-Islámica*) p. 148.

'the Days of Ignorance,'[1] were, with some modifications introduced by Muḥammad, incorporated by him into Islám, and, stamped by Qur'ánic revelation with Divine sanction, were made the great culminating rite of his religious sytem. The conclusion is obvious to all right-thinking persons, whose reason has not been clouded by prejudice, namely, that in this last 'act of practice,' or 'pillar' of Islám, lies the exposure and falsification of Islám as a Divine revelation, and by its institution the 'false Prophet of Arabia' stands self-condemned.

Conclusion from the foregoing, viz., Islam is exposed and Muhammad is self-condemned

But, it may be pertinently asked, what was the origin of the Ka'ba, and to what source may be traced the heathen ceremonies connected with it? Before attempting to answer these questions, let us first note the Qur'ánic references to this ancient shrine, which will afford an indication of the Arab belief, in Muḥammad's time, concerning it. In Súratu Âli 'Imrán (iii), 90, 91, we read, 'The first temple that was founded for mankind, was that in Becca,[2]—Blessed, and a guidance to human beings. In it are evident signs, even the standing-place of Abraham and he who entereth it is safe.' Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 98 says, 'God hath appointed the Ka'ba, the Sacred House, to be a station for mankind.' And in Súratu'l-Ḥajj (xxii) 25, 27, it is said, 'The Holy Mosque which we have appointed to all men, alike for those who abide therein, and for the stranger. And call to mind when we assigned the site of the House to Abraham and said: "Unite not aught with Me in worship, and cleanse My House for those who go in procession round it, and who stand or bow in worship."'[3]

What was the origin of the Ka'ba, and its ceremonies?

Qur'anic references to the Ka'ba;

[1] i.e. before the rise of Islám.

[2] i.e. Mecca, or 'place of crowding.' This verse, and other Súras are woven into the kiswad, or covering of the Ka'ba.

[3] cf. Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 119. There is also a belief among Muslims, that the Ka'ba is coeval with the world, having existed in Paradise (or Eden). After Adam's expulsion from Paradise, [which

These Qur'ánic statements indicate, among other things, the antiquity of the Ka'ba, and the worship offered at it, and, also, give expression to the wide-spread Arab belief that Abraham was the original founder of the Ka'ba. This belief is, moreover, distinctly mentioned in Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 121, 'And when Abraham, with Ishmael, raised the foundations of the House, they said, "O our Lord! accept it from us."' While, however, it is indisputable, that this traditional belief existed among the Arabs, the credibility of the tradition is open to question. Burton, in his *Pilgrimage* (iii. 336), says that the tradition is clear and consistent, but he leaves the acceptance of it an open question. Freytag[1] goes further, and says that there is no good reason for doubting the statement in Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 121, that Abraham, with Ishmael, founded the Ka'ba. J. M. Arnold (*Islám*, p. 27) says, 'Nor is the popular notion of the Arabs which considers Ishmael to be the original founder of the Ka'ba, to be entirely rejected.'

corroborate the Arab traditional belief, that Abraham, with Ishmael, built the Ka'ba

Burton says, it is an open question

Freytag says, there is no good reason for doubting it

Arnold says, the popular notion is not to be rejected

But the weight of recognized authority[2] on Islám is against the acceptance of this tradition; and as it rests upon no historical foundation, and, moreover, is susceptible of a natural and rational explanation, it must, therefore, be regarded as untrustworthy, if not discounted altogether. One thing, however, may be predicated of the Ka'ba, with certainty, namely,

Weight of authority is against it

Muḥammad places, not upon the earth, but in the seventh heaven [Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 34], on his requesting permission to erect a temple like the one in Paradise, a representation of it was let down from Heaven, and placed in Mecca. This was, at the flood, taken up again into Heaven. When Adam died, his son Seth erected a building resembling the heavenly one, which was destroyed by the deluge, but afterwards rebuilt by Abraham and Ishmael.

[1] *Einleitung*, p. 339.

[2] e.g. Muir, Sale, Palmer, Sell, Tisdall, Margoliouth, and others. Muir says, 'the story is plainly a fable,' and he gives very cogent reasons for his opinion (*L. of M.*, Intro. pp. xc-xci).

that long before Muḥammad's time, it was used as an idolatrous shrine, and visited as a place of pilgrimage by the Arabs from all parts of Arabia. But the real origin of the Ka'ba is unknown, having been lost in the obscurity of antiquity.[1]

Origin of Ka'ba unknown

How, then, may the belief in its Abrahamic origin be explained, and the assumed connexion of its ceremonial with Old Testament stories? Briefly stated, the explanation lies in the origin of the ancient inhabitants of Mecca, and their association with Abrahamic tribes from Syria, who had settled in Mecca.

Explanation of its Abrahamic origin

It has been pointed out (pp. 7, 8) that from time immemorial, the practice of idolatory prevailed throughout the whole of Arabia, special features of which were the worship of stones, and of the heavenly bodies. The practice most probably arose in Yaman, which was the cradle of the Arab race, and afterwards spread throughout the Peninsula. As the ancient inhabitants of Mecca came from Yaman, they would bring with them the idolatrous customs observed in their native home. Thus would be introduced into Mecca, the practice of idolatry, with the worship of stones, and adoration of the heavenly bodies.

Idolatry introduced into Mecca from Yaman

Further, we know that, at one time, Mecca, which lay on one of the routes of commerce between the East and West, was an important halting place for caravans engaged in this trade;[2] and, owing to its convenient situation, and its never-failing supply of water in the

[1] The ḥajaru'l-aswad, or black stone, which is fixed in the Ka'ba, seems to be older even than the Ka'ba, and its presence there indicates a knowledge by the Arabs of a custom in Old Testament times of setting up stones to commemorate special acts of divine favour; e.g. Jacob at Bethel (Gen. xxviii. 18).

[2] It was the ancient Macoraba, and was situated about half-way between Arabia Felix and Petrae. Heeren says, 'Such places of repose became entrepôts of commerce, and not unfrequently the sites of temples and sanctuaries, under the protection of which the merchant prosecuted his trade, and to which the pilgrim resorted' (*Researches in Africa*, vol. i. p. 23).

well Zamzam, it became a commercial centre, to which were attracted settlers from other parts of Arabia. Communication would thus be kept up between the original inhabitants of Mecca, and their ancient home in Yaman, which would tend to establish the idolatrous practices introduced from Yaman into Mecca. It can scarcely be doubted that the old immigrants into Mecca erected a shrine, at which they offered their devotions to the sun, moon, and stars, and probably, also, to the wonderful black stone. Sacrifices, too, were offered, in Yaman, to the heavenly bodies, and would become part of the idolatrous rites introduced into Mecca.

Sacrifices also offered, in Yaman, to the heavenly bodies, would be introduced into Mecca, where the worship became national in character

Moreover, the commercial importance of Mecca, in attracting the Arabs from all parts of Arabia would augment the number of those who worshipped at its shrine, and impart to its worship something of a national character, till, ultimately, it became the religion of the whole Peninsula.

The mercantile decadence of Mecca could not destroy the superstitious reverence of the Arab race, so gradually acquired, for the Temple and its religious rites, and the Ka'ba retained its sanctity as a place of resort, or sacred pilgrimage, for all the people of Arabia.

Thus far have we endeavoured to explain the heathen origin of the Ka'ba, with its idolatrous ceremonies. There still remains to be explained, how the origin of this heathen shrine, and its idolatrous rites, became connected with the names of Abraham and Ishmael, which was the popular Arab belief in Muḥammad's time, and, also, long before the rise of Islám.

Jewish colonies settled in Arabia

We have seen (pp. 8, 9), that several emigrations of Jewish tribes took place from Syria to Arabia, and large colonies of Jews established themselves in different parts of the Peninsula— in Madína, and Khaibar, and other places. It is highly probable that one of these tribes, of Abrahamic and Ishmaelitish origin, penetrated as far as Mecca, and became

Some, claiming descent from Abraham and Ishmael, settled in

Mecca, and, ultimately, super-imposed their Abrahamic traditions upon the indigenous worship of the early inhabitants from Yaman

settlers there with the original inhabitants from Yaman. The new-comers would bring with them their traditions, and stories of Abraham, and of Hagar and Ishmael, which, in process of time, and by the intermingling of the two races, became connected with the shrine, and with the local religious rites, of the original residents. Moreover, as these Abrahamic traditions and stories imparted to these rites a definite explanation of their origin, and an intelligent ground for their observance, they were, ultimately, implanted or super-imposed upon them, and came to be regarded by the Arabs, as the authentic explanation of their primary institution. Thus, as Muir aptly writes,[1] 'By a summary adjustment, the story of Palestine became the story of the Hejaz. The precincts of the Ka'ba were hallowed as the scene of Hagar's distress, and the sacred well Zamzam as the source of her relief. The pilgrims hastened to and fro between Ṣafá and Marwa, in memory of her hurried steps in search of water. It was Abraham and Ishmael who built the Temple, imbedded in it the black stone, and established for all Arabia the pilgrimage to 'Arafát. In imitation of him it was that stones were flung by the pilgrims as if at Satan, and sacrifices offered at Miná in remembrance of the vicarious sacrifice by Abraham. And so, although the indigenous rites may have been little, if at all, altered by the adoption of Israelitish legends, they came to be viewed in a totally different light, and to be connected in Arab imagination with something of the sanctity of Abraham, the friend of God.'

Muḥammad, when adopting and incorporating into Islám these heathen pilgrimage rites of the Ka'ba, introduced some changes in them, in accordance with his usual custom of borrowing. The heathen sacrifices offered at Miná, were superseded by the sacrificial rites of the Great Day of Atonement, which Muḥam-

Changes made by Muhammad, in the rites of the Pilgrimage

[1] *Life of Mahomet*, Introd. pp. xcii, xciii.

mad borrowed from the Jews[1] and the practice of encompassing the Kaʻba in a state of nudity, was discountenanced, and forbidden, by the Prophet. Still, the Islámic rites of the Pilgrimage, as observed and commanded by Muḥammad, were, and are to the present day, substantially the same as the heathen ceremonies of the Arabs, which were practised before the rise of Islám.[2]

Inquiry into the sources of Islam, completed

We have, now, come to the end of our inquiry into the sources of Islám. In the concluding review we shall summarize, briefly, the conclusions which have been arrived at in the foregoing pages. Here, before closing this part of our inquiry, it may be noted that most of the rites and ceremonies pertaining to Islám were borrowed from religious rites practised in Arabia, long before the time of Muḥammad.

Islam, both in its Faith and Practice, is a conglomerate religious system borrowed from various sources, and moulded by Muhammad, and made unchangeable for all time

In the region, therefore, of practice, as in the domain of faith, Islám is a complex aggregation of religious ideas and customs borrowed from many, and divers, sources, and moulded by Muḥammad into a system of religion distinctively his own, because stamped with his own personality and character. Moreover, this hybrid system of incongruous elements, promulgated as by Divine authority, was made the inflexible and unalterable rule of faith and practice

[1] *vide ante*, pp. 139, 140, and note 1 of p. 139. This fast of the Jews, which Muḥammad at first imitated, was superseded by the Muslim fast of Ramaḍán; but its sacrificial rites were retained by Muḥammad, and incorporated into his new ordinance of the Baqar-ʻId (called also the ʻIdu'd-Ḍuḥá, or Feast of Sacrifice), which the Prophet introduced in imitation of the heathen sacrifices offered at Miná, at the close of the Greater Pilgrimage In this ceremony Muḥammad reversed the order of the sacrifice of the kids, offering the first for his people, and the other for himself: *vide* Lev. xvi. 6, 15 ; Heb. vii. 27.

[2] The writer dissents from the statement of Sir W. Muir in his *Life of Mahomet* (Introd. p. xciii), that Muḥammad, in retaining the rites of the Kaʻba . stripped ' them ' of all idolatrous tendency.' The worship paid to the Black Stone—for the kissing of it is an ancient form of worship in the East—is distinctly heathen.

for the followers of the Prophet, in every age, and for all time. The maxims and practices,[1] and some absurd heathen customs, of unenlightened Arabs in the Dark Ages, are, therefore, binding upon, and should be observed by, the most highly cultured Muslims in our present age of enlightenment.

The defects of Islam, which cause intellectual and moral stagnation

The defects, and baneful influence of such a religious system are obvious. Like some inland lake whose waters, fed by many streams, but devoid of outlet, becoming stagnant, exhale poisonous vapours which cause death and desolation to all the region around it, so Islám—a religious system, gathered from many heterogeneous sources, and possessing some facets of the Truth, but many traits of error which offend against the better judgement of its enlightened followers, as well as being repugnant to the common-sense of mankind—which professes to be a perfect, unalterable,[2] Divine Revelation of the Faith and Practice required of all men and for all time, and admits of no change in its moral precepts and no progress in the character of its religious rites, though the advance of knowledge and the progress of civilization may have shown that many of its precepts and ordinances are contrary to the nature of the Divine Being—this hybrid, incongruous, and unchangeable, religious system of Islám has poisoned the moral conceptions of its people, and fettered their intellectual[3] outlook, and

[1] e.g. polygamy, concubinage, slavery, etc.

[2] A striking statement concerning the unalterable nature of Islám was made by the editor of a Muslim newspaper in Cairo. Speaking of the adaptation of Islám to European ideas, he said, 'No adaptation or alteration of Islám will be accepted by any Muslim people. Islám as a religion, as a guide to man in life, in his duties to God and man, is divine and perfect. . Islám as it is, is perfect, and wonderfully adapted to the needs of man in England or in the Arctic regions, as it is to the Bedouins of the Arabian desert, and the fact that it is so is one of the striking proofs of its divine origin. It is written, "There is no change in the words of God," and therefore the Qur'án and the Sunnat are *for ever and for all men unchangeable.*'—*Egyptian Herald*, Feb. 22, 1896.

[3] The backward state of education among the Musalmáns has been a noted feature of the Indian census statistics.

has thus caused moral and intellectual stagnation[1] and death in those countries which acknowledge its sway, or are kept in bondage to it through ignorance, or by the power of the sword.

[1] *vide* Prof. D. S. Margoliouth's *Muḥammadanism*, p. 149; G. H. Lancaster's *Prophecy, the War, and the Near East*, p. 148. Ibn Khaldún, the Muslim historian, attributes the unhappy and decadent condition of Muḥammadan countries to the conservative influences of Islám.

CHAPTER XIV

CONCLUDING REVIEW

> As to those who believe, and the Jews, and the Ṣábians, and the Christians, and the Magians, and those who join other gods with God, of a truth, God shall decide between them on the day of Resurrection.[1]
>
> Islam was born in the desert, with Arab Ṣábianism for its mother, and Judaism for its father; its foster nurse was Eastern Christianity. *Edwin Arnold.*
>
> As we conceive God, we conceive the universe; a being incapable of loving is incapable of being loved. *Principal Fairbairn.*

Review

WE have completed our inquiry into the sources of Islám, and in this concluding chapter, we shall review briefly, and summarize, the conclusions which have been reached in the foregoing pages.

Elements of the faith of Islam: The Unity of God

We have seen that the fundamental doctrine of the Faith of Islám, namely, the Unity of God, was derived from the Semitic, or monotheistic, idea of God, which was the ancient traditional belief of the Arabs, and was in harmony with belief in their Semitic origin. This belief was evidenced by some of their social and religious customs, and by the testimony of Herodotus, and the etymology of the word 'Alláh,' which was also frequently used in Arabic poetry in pre-Islámic times. Moreover, several Arabic writers state that the original worship of the Arabs, and especially those who claimed descent from Ishmael, was that of the One True God. Muḥammad's intercourse with the 'Ḥanífs' or Arabian reformers who rejected idolatry, and claimed to be followers of the faith of Abraham, would also confirm his belief in the Divine Unity. And, besides all this, the dogma derived

[1] Súratu'l-Ḥajj (xxii) 17.

great additional significance by the 'Prophet's' contact with Judaism.[1]

Angelism and Demonology

As regards the Angelism and Demonology of the Qur'án, it has been shown at some length that these beliefs came ultimately from Zoroastrianism, but were borrowed directly from Jewish sources, coloured somewhat by local Arab beliefs and superstitions. Some features of the doctrine came from a Christian source, and some from Armenian and Babylonian mythology.

The Books and the Prophets

The Qur'ánic doctrine of the Books and the Prophets was derived mainly from Jewish and Christian sources, although the Ṣábians acknowledged some Books which they ascribed to certain prophets before the Flood. One of the books of the Ṣábians was called the *Book of Seth*, which was known to the Arabs in Muḥammad's time, and would, therefore, be also known to Muḥammad, as several of the religious practices of the Muslims are identical with those of the Ṣábians.

Jesus is described in the Qur'án as Rúḥu'lláh, 'The Spirit of God,' and the one sinless Prophet of Islám. These conceptions of the Divine Person of our Lord, and His Virgin Birth, which is also taught, could have been derived only from a Christian source. Yet His Deity as the Triune God, and His Divine Sonship are repudiated by Muḥammad, either through wilful misbelief, or the corrupt and distorted views of the Trinity, prevalent among the Christians in Arabia and Syria in Muḥammad's time.

Much of Muḥammad's teaching about the Person of Jesus is taken from apocryphal sources ; and in denying

[1] In addition to what has been said on this subject in Chapter III, we may here add what H. Hirschfeld says, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 'The religious decay in Arabia shortly before Islám may well be taken in a negative sense, in the sense of the tribes losing the feeling of kinship with the tribal gods. We may express this more concretely by saying that the gods had become gradually more and more nebulous *through the destructive influence exercised, for about two hundred years, by Jewish and Christian ideas, upon Arabian heathenism.*'

the Crucifixion, Muḥammad was only following the teaching of certain heresiarchs who flourished in the second and third centuries of our era. The Qur'ánic references to the Second Advent of Christ were derived from our Scriptures, and the supposed New Testament prophecy pointing to the appearance of Muḥammad, arose from confounding the word for 'Paraclete' (παράκλητος) with another word (περικλυτός) almost similar in sound, which, might be rendered by 'Aḥmad' (The praised), one of the Prophet's names.

The Resurrection and the Day of Judgement

The doctrine of the Resurrection and the Day of Judgement was manifestly borrowed from the Christian Scriptures, but some details connected with the 'Day,' which are mentioned in the Qur'án, were taken from some of the Prophetical Books of the Old Testament. The *Talmud* also contributed towards the Qur'ánic descriptions of the Resurrection and the Day of Judgement, and of the 'Hour'; in fact, most of Muḥammad's knowlege of the Old Testament was obtained through the medium of the *Talmud*.

The 'Balance'

The 'Balance' in which men's deeds are weighed on the Day of Judgement, was borrowed by Muḥammad from the apocryphal work called *The Testament of Abraham*. The idea is also contained in the *Talmud*, and in Zoroastrian mythology, but its ultimate source is ancient Egyptian mythology. As *The Testament of Abràham* was composed originally in Egypt, the writer of it may have obtained this idea from the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, which contains a pictorial representation of the idea in the last 'Judgement Scene.'

Al-A'raf

Al-A'ráf, 'the Partition,' or 'Veil, which is said to exist between Heaven and Hell, has its counterpart in the *Talmud*, and in *The Testament of Abraham*, from which the Qur'ánic idea may have been directly borrowed, but the ultimate source of this idea is Avestan eschatology, which reserves a 'separate place' for those whose, 'false things and good things balance.'

Aṣ-Ṣirâṭ, the Muslim 'Way' or 'Bridge, which stretches over Hell and across which all must pass after the Judgement, was borrowed from the same ultimate source as Al-A'ráf. It is the *Chinvaṭ* bridge of the *Avestá*, the 'Bridge of the Gatherer,' which all must pass over before they can enter Paradise, and which only the souls of the righteous can cross in safety, while the souls of the wicked fall from it down into Hell.

As-Sirat

There is a reference to a bridge of Hell in Jewish tradition, but only idolators, it is said, will pass over it, who will fall down from it into Hell. The Jews would derive this idea from the Persians.

Âryan mythology has also a 'bridge of the gods, which was probably suggested to these ancient nature-worshippers by the rainbow, or by the Milky Way, as the bridge by which the gods passed from Heaven to Earth. This is one of several indications noticed in this Inquiry, which point to the Âryan origin of the Persians. In all probability the Avestan *Chinvaṭ* had its origin in this old Âryan myth.

The Qur'ánic doctrine of Heaven and Hell was largely borrowed from the *Talmud*, or from traditions based upon it. There are also Hindú and Persian beliefs somewhat analogous to each other, and to that contained in the Qur'án, which again indicate the common ethnic stock of these two races.

Heaven and Hell

Muḥammad's descriptions of Paradise, and the joys of believers there, resemble, in many respects, those contained in the *Talmud*, and in the *Avestá*. The dark-eyed Ḥúrís of the Muslim Paradise are the Avestan Pairikas, or celestial maidens 'endowed with seductive beauty,' whom the Hindús also believed in as the Apsarasas, or creatures of light, who dwelt in the god Indra's heaven, called *Swarga* (स्वर्ग).

Paradise

Muḥammad, in describing the pleasures of his Qur'ánic Paradise, was doubtless influenced by the allegorical language of the Apocalypse, but his sensuous

representations can only be attributed to his sensuous disposition.

Besides the *Talmudic* descriptions of Hell which Muḥammad largely borrowed, there was the *Gathic* Hell, minutely described in the *Avestá*, from which he could also borrow for his Qur'ánic teaching on this subject.

Hell

There are other minor references to Hell, which were derived from Jewish and Christian sources.

The last article in the Faith of Islám is Predestination, or God's eternal Decree, upon which much emphasis was laid by Muḥammad in the Qur'án.

Predestination or God's Decree

We have seen that in formulating this doctrine, Muḥammad was considerably influenced by the teaching of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, in which the absolute Sovereignty of God is clearly revealed; but the Qur'ánic statement of the doctrine in its bald repulsiveness cannot be attributed to these Scriptures. We sought, therefore, some other source which would explain the grim sternness of his expression of the doctrine, which indicated, because contrary to the principle of equity, an unworthy and ungodlike conception of Deity, one of whose essential attributes is justice. And we found that the primary source of the Muslim doctrine of Predestination, which at times can scarcely be distinguished from Fatalism, or blind destiny as it is thus understood by Muslims at the present day, is to be found in the primitive cults and animistic religions which existed in Arabia before the rise of Islám. Rooted in the minds of the devotees of all such cults, and intervowen with their beliefs, is the idea of fatalism, or blind destiny, to which they attribute the various phenomena of their existence. In the Prophet's hands, however, the dogma, in its crystallized form, certainly gained in 'hardness' in the process of its adoption as a tenet of Islám.

With regard now to the Practice of Islám, and to the first 'act' or 'pillar,' Tashahhud, the recital of the Kalima, or Creed, we noted that something resembling

'Acts of Practice.' Tashahhud—the recital of the Creed

the first part of this Muslim symbol was in use among the Arabs, in their observance of the Ihlál ceremony, long before the rise of Islám. We noted also the similarity between this part of the Kalima and the confession of God's Unity, made in the *Shema'*, or liturgy of the Jews which is recited by them every day—'Hear, O Israel! The Lord our God is one Lord'; and, further, its similarity to the confession of faith in one God, made by the sons of Jacob at the death-bed of their father, the Qur'ánic account [Súratu'l-Baqara(ii) 127] of which was obtained by Muḥammad from the *Talmud*. The declaration or recital of God's Unity, which is contained in the first part of the Kalima, was evidently derived from these sources. The other element in the Creed, which declares the Apostleship of Muḥammad, was, manifestly, the Prophet's own invention.

Salat

Muḥammad's injunction to observe Ṣalát, or prayer, at certain times of the day, which is the second 'act of practice,' we traced, in the first instance, to the practice of the Jews, which was in accordance with the teaching of the Old Testament Scriptures, and also of the *Talmud*. Later, after his 'night journey,' and when he became less friendly with the Jews, he increased the periods of the daily Ṣalát to five, which correspond, as the ancient Arabic writer, Abú'Ísa'l-Maghribí, points out, to five of the daily prayer periods of the Ṣábians. The ultimate source of these five prayer periods of the Muslims, we found in Zoroastrianism, which, according to the *Avestá*, has its five divisions, or periods, of the day during which prayer should be observed.

Rites of purification

The Muslim rites of purification, which precede Ṣalát, were borrowed chiefly from the purificatory ritual of the Jews as it is commanded in the Old Testament Scriptures, and amplified in the *Talmud*. The Arabs had some rites of purification, and the Ebionites and Ṣábians observed ablutionary ceremonies somewhat similar to those enjoined in the Qur'án, and these sources may have influenced Mu-

ḥammad when instituting his Qur'ánic rites, but the chief source, and predominant influence was undoubtedly Jewish.

Postures in prayer, etc.

The several postures of the body used by Muslims during prayer, their practice of congregational worship, and their Pharisaic custom of praying in public, are all of Jewish origin. Muḥammad's first Qibla—the Temple of Jerusalem—was adopted from the practice of the Jews, which he afterwards changed for the Ka'ba at Mecca, in order to conciliate the Arabs, but chiefly because of his growing hostility to the Jews.

The rite of Circumcision which is universally practised by Muslims is not prescribed in the Qur'án or Traditions, and therefore cannot be regarded as an Institution of Islám. It was an Abrahamic rite and was practised by the Jews, and also by the Arabs long before the rise of Islám.

Roza, the fast of Ramadan. Jewish elements

Roza, the fast of Ramaḍán, and the third practical duty of Muslims, has a composite origin. The rite or act of fasting, and the Qur'ánic rule for determining the exact time the fast should begin, were borrowed from the Jews, the latter being a Talmudic direction. The practice of fasting only during the day was in accordance with the custom of the Jews (and also of the Ṣábians); and, further, the Qur'ánic exemptions from the fast are similar to those in vogue among the Jews, as mentioned in the *Talmud*. The duration of the fast, or period of thirty days, and 'Idu'l-Fiṭr or 'feast of the breaking of the fast,' were borrowed from the Ṣábians. But in fixing the period of thirty days, Muḥammad may have been influenced by the custom of the Quraish, who spent a month every year upon Mount Ḥirá, near Mecca, in the 'practice of penance.' Moreover, this custom of the Quraish seems to have led Muḥammad to select the month of Ramaḍán for the observance of his fast, as this was the month spent by them, and Muḥammad, upon Mount Ḥirá every year in 'the Days of Ignorance.'

Sabian elements

The source of Zakát, or Almsgiving, the fourth 'pillar' of Islám, is also found in Judaism. This is evident from the etymology of the Qur'ánic terms used to designate the 'act'—zakát and ṣadaqa, which are of Jewish derivation. The practice of the Jews as commanded in the Old Testament, and exemplified in both the Old and New Testament Scriptures gives additional support to this conclusion, which is also confirmed by apocryphal writings, and especially by the references in the *Talmud* to the virtue, necessity and the rewards of almsgiving.

Zakat, or almsgiving

But Muḥammad did not adopt the Jewish practice in *every* particular. In accordance with his usual mode of borrowing, he introduced changes in the ordinance both as regards the amount demanded and the purpose for which it was given.

As regards now the Ḥajj, or Pilgrimage to Mecca which is the fifth 'pillar' of Islám, and the last Muslim 'act of practice,' the origin of its peculiar ceremonies may all be traced to Arabian Heathenism. Long before Islám came into existence, these ceremonies of the Ḥajj, except some changes introduced by Muḥammad, were practised by all the Arab tribes of Arabia. To win for Islám these scattered, independent tribes, and thus weld them together in a common bond of spiritual and national union, Muḥammad adopted their idolatrous practice of the Pilgrimage, and made it the great culminating rite of Islám. By thus lowering his flag to, and compromising with, Arab Paganism, Muḥammad accomplished his object, but at the same time exposed himself and his religion to severe and just condemnation; for these absurd heathen rites of the Ḥajj, which are commanded in the Qur'án as Divine enactments, nullify the claim of Islám to be a Divine revelation and of Muḥammad to be a prophet of God.

The Hajj, or Pilgrimage to Mecca

Our Inquiry into *The Sources of Islám* is now finished; our task is, therefore, completed. All the essential features of Islám have been examined, and their source, or sources, indica-

Inquiry completed

ted. Other matters mentioned in the Qur'án, which might have come within our purview, have been omitted in order to keep this treatise within reasonable limits. They are, moreover, all traceable to one, or other, of the sources already indicated.

Looking back now, and taking a comprehensive survey of all the sources from which the Muslim Faith and Practice have been derived, one factor among the *Origines Islámicae* stands out in clear relief as the predominant influence in the formation and development of Islám. This factor is Talmudic Judaism.[1] Arabian idolatry with its latent monotheism, Fetishism, Ṣábianism, Ḥanifism, Zoroastrianism, and Christianity, to which may be added, though in a minor degree, Buddhism, and both Hindú and Egyptian mythology—all these contributed their quota towards the growth of Islám. But it was to Judaism, or rather Talmudic Judaism (not the Judaism of the Old Testament) that Muḥammad was most indebted for the distinctive character of his religion, which provided also the form and the substance of so many of his 'revelations,' and which was unmistakably the 'predominant partner' in the varied and hetorogeneous elements which composed the Faith and Practice of Islám. Rabbi Geiger,[2] that learned Jew, has clearly demonstrated this conclusion, by tracing all the principal features of Islám to Talmudic sources. Hughes' verdict must, therefore, stand, namely 'Muḥammadanism . is simply Talmudic Judaism adapted to Arabia, plus the Apostleship of Jesus and Muḥammad.'[3]

Thus in Muḥammad's conception and development of Islám, there was nothing new *except Muḥammad* as the self-constituted Apostle of God and his sensuous descriptions of the joys of Paradise. His religion

[1] Carlyle's statements (*Heroes*, p 52) that 'Islám is definable as a confused form of Christianity' and 'is a kind of Christianity' (p. 70), are not warranted by the teaching of the Qur'án, which categorically denies the Deity and Divine Sonship of Jesus Christ.

[2] *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen*—A. Geiger.

[3] *Notes on Muḥammadanism*, pp. 27, 28.

'is not an invention, but a concoction; there is nothing novel about it except the genius of Muḥammad in mixing old ingredients into a new panacea for human ills, and forcing it down by means of the sword.'[1]

Doubtless Muḥammad's first poetic effusions, promulgated at the beginning of his prophetic career, when, we believe, he was honest and sincere[2] in his religious pretensions, and which, therefore, breathe a spirit of deep religious fervour—these, doubtless, emanated from his own inner consciousness, as the result of, and also revealing, the intensity of his belief in his Divine call and commission. But all his later productions, instead of being, as he affirmed them to be, objective 'revelations' brought down to his heart by the 'faithful Spirit,' bear evident marks of much time and painstaking labour having been taken in their composition, for there is presumptive evidence that Muḥammad could both read and write.[3]

While, however, all the leading features of his religion were borrowed from different sources, ranging from the most primitive cults to the most highly developed systems of religious faith and worship, in combining all these various alien elements into one con-

[1] *Arabia: The Cradle of Islam*, by Zwemer, p. 170.

I cannot but dissent from what Zwemer (who follows Koelle) says, that Muḥammad 'was *semper idem*'; 'only . a clever impostor from the day of his first message to the day of his death.' —*The Cradle of Islam*, p 182. Muir, *L. of M.*, p. 165; Palmer, *The Qur'án*, p. xxi., Kuenen, Tisdall, D. B. Macdonald, Rabbi Geiger and others believe that Muḥammad was at first sincere, and 'believed in the reality of his revelations.'

[3] Prof. A. H. Sayce writes, 'Arabia had for ages been the home of culture and *the art of writing*.' Quoted by Zwemer in *Arabia: The Cradle of Islám*, p. 159. Zwemer also points out that 'In "the time of ignorance" writing was well known and poetry flourished' in Arabia. *Ibid*, p. 163. There is no absolute proof in the Qur'án that Muḥammad was ignorant of reading and writing. The Jewish Rabbi Geiger has shown that the word 'Ummí' in the phrase 'An nabiyyu'l Ummí' [Súratu'l-Á'raf (vii) 156] which is rendered 'The Unlettered Prophet' really means 'Gentile' as opposed to Jewish, and 'refers to Muḥammad's ignorance, previous to the revelation of Islám, of the ancient Scriptures.' The same word is used in Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 19, in reference to the 'common people,' or the Arabs in general.

tinuous, and more or less consistent, whole, Muḥammad has left the distinct impress of his own remarkable personality upon the system which he thus founded, and called by the name of Islám.

Some aspects of Muhammad's life and teaching are worthy of praise

It seems only just to give honour to the Arabian 'Prophet,' for the sincerity of his early religious convictions, and for the zeal with which he sought to propagate them; for his sublime, though mistaken, conception of the Divine Unity, and for his many high and pious exhortations to a life of submission to the Divine Will, as well as for his own unfaltering confidence in God, in the face of the ridicule and open hostility of his fellow-citizens, which, having born with fortitude for many years, drove him ultimately from his home at Mecca. In giving him this meed of praise we may lament that the untrained, but master, mind of Arabia had never come into contact with pure New Testament Christianity, whose beneficent influence and transforming power would doubtless, have made him an ardent follower and propagator of the religion of the Cross.

But other aspects merit the severest censure

But, while saying all this in the 'Prophet's' praise, we cannot hide from ourselves that he gradually degenerated into an ambitious enthusiast, and a clever designer, who scrupled not to use any kind of means for the attainment of the end he had in view. He broke, openly and repeatedly, almost every precept of the moral law, and he made flagrant breaches of the code of honour, or unwritten law, of the Arabs. He connived at the assassination and murder of those who troubled him, and his cruel massacre of the Jewish captives, will for ever leave a dark stain upon his character, forming a sinister background to his oft-repeated phrase, 'In the Name of the Merciful and Campassionate God.' He was an open voluptuary, and

Muhammad's sensualism

his law which allowed his followers to have four lawful wives, was not considered binding upon him, because inadequate to gratify

his sensuality; he, therefore, indulged in ten[1] (or eleven) wives, besides several slaves as concubines.

Moreover, to condone his crimes and to excuse his licence, this self-constituted 'Prophet' produces 'special revelations' from God, which indicate the Divine approval. There is one chapter of the Qur'án entitled 'The forbidding' [Súratu't-Taḥrím (lxvi)] parts of which are unfit for reading, even to an audience of men, in which God is said to release Muḥammad from his oaths, and to countenance his voluptuous behaviour with Mary, his Coptic slave—this Qur'ánic 'revelation' is sufficient to disprove Muḥammad's claim to Divine Inspiration, and to condemn the Faith which he inculcated.

'Revelations' to justify his crimes, and to excuse his licence

Thus by practice as well as precept, which gives Divine sanction to slavery, polygamy, concubinage, and religious intolerance, the Arabian 'Reformer,' and 'Seal of the Prophets, instead of elevating the moral standard of his people, and freeing them from the bonds of barbarism, lowered and degraded that standard, and bound these bonds more firmly upon his followers for ever. It is true that he opposed the cruel Arabian custom of female infanticide,[2] and made it an unlawful practice in Islám, but his institution of the 'veil' which had its origin in one of his many marriage affairs, perpetuates the seclusion and the

The Qur'an gives Divine sanction to slavery, polygamy, concubinage, and religious intolerance

The 'veil' and its degrading effects upon Muslim women

[1] According to Abú'l-Fidá, Muḥammad had fifteen wives and had entered into negotiations for thirty. There was really no limit to the number of wives which the Qur'án allowed Muḥammad to possess, *vide* Súratu'l-Aḥzáb (xxxiii) 49 'O Prophet! we allow thee thy wives whom thou hast dowered, and the slaves whom thy right hand possesseth out of the booty which God hath granted thee, and the daughters of thy uncle and of thy paternal and maternal aunts who fled with thee to Madína, *and any believing woman* who hath given herself up to the Prophet, if the Prophet desired to wed her—a privilege for thee above the rest of the Faithful.' Yet Carlyle says (*Heroes*, pp. 64, 65), 'Muḥammad was not a sensual man,' and excuses the sensual indulgence permitted in the Qur'án.

[2] In doing so, Muḥammad followed the teaching of the aged Zaid, the Ḥaníf reformer, who protested against this practice.

degradation of all Muḥammadan women, and is largely responsible for the deathlike stagnation[1] which exists in Islám to the present day. Before Muḥammad's time the 'veil,' or harem-system did not exist in Arabia,[2] and the Arabian women had then acknowledged rights, and occupied a position of respect and honour in Arabian society. To-day a Muslim woman is regarded as a chattel, which may be bought or sold, divorced or 'kept,' at the whim or caprice of men. All this, moreover, may be done under the Divine sanction of Muḥammad's Qur'ánic 'revelations.'

Is largely responsible for the absence of all progress in Islam

In bringing this inquiry to a close, we may finally, ask, first, in view of its non-moral elements, to what source or cause may be attributed the rapid expansion of Islám, and its widespread acceptance in the world? And secondly, how may we account for the moral declension of its founder, and his unmoral teaching, which reached its climax in the command [Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 5, 29] to make war upon all unbelievers, and to slay them if they do not become Muslims? The questions are inter-related, and may be ultimately referred to the Muslim conception of God, as it is revealed in the Qur'án.

Concluding questions

1. In view of its non-moral elements, how may the rapid expansion of Islam, and its widespread acceptance, be explained?

2. How do we account for Muhammad's moral declension, and his unmoral teaching?

[1] Keene says that the veil 'lies at the root of all the most important features that differentiate progress from stagnation.'

[2] Prof. D. S. Margoliouth (*Muhammadanism*, pp. 135-138) and Savary (Sale's *Koran* with Savary's notes, p. 249, note 11) point out that the 'veil' is an eastern custom from remote antiquity: and we read that Rebekah 'took a veil and covered herself' in the presence of Isaac (Gen. xxiv. 65). Zwemer (*Arabia*, p. 161), and Gairdner (*Reproach of Islam*, p. 188), agree with the view stated in the text, that the women of Arabia, before Muḥammad's time, did not wear the veil. A striking corroboration of it is also given by J. A. Campbell (*Shadow of the Crescent*, p. 202), who states, that when he visited the old city of Oufa which, according to tradition, is identified with Ur of the Chaldees, he saw a tomb which workmen had recently discovered during excavations. On the side of the tomb there were six portraits of its occupants, in mosaic, and the women are represented *unveiled*. The work, he says, is not later than the sixth century.

First, Islám was, and is to-day, or would be if it had the power, a religion of the sword, by which its moral as well as its political, conquests were won. The existence of the large Borah class of Muslims in India to-day bears witness to the spiritual sword-conquests of Islám, as their ancestors were Hindús, who were forced, during the Muḥammadan conquest, to become Muslims at the point of the sword. War and bloodshed are, by the example and teaching of Muḥammad, through an inadequate conception of the Divine Nature, consecrated to the service of God, in the propagation of the Faith of Islám.

1. By sword-conquest

But apart from the conquests by the sword, the Faith of Islám contains, as Gibbon has pointed out, 'an eternal truth,' which is expressed in the first part of the Kalima, or Muslim Creed: 'There is no god but God.' It is this quintessence of eternal truth contained in the system, coupled with the personal element of blind devotion to Muḥammad as 'the Apostle of God,' which also accounts for the widespread diffusion, and continued existence of a Faith which dwarfs the spiritual life of its adherents, and retards both their mental and moral progress; and, in those lands where it is predominant, which seals to its followers the deeper sacred fount of Divine Truth, and sterilizes every effort after progressive reform.

and an 'eternal truth' expressed in its Creed

As regards now the moral declension of a 'prophet who began his career, as we believe, sincere in his pretensions, and lofty in his ideals, but who degenerated into a sensual opportunist, whose religious teaching, in many respects, may be characterised not only as unmoral but also immoral—these dark traits which appear in the life and character of Muḥammad, and in much of his moral teaching, may also be traced to his wrong conception of the Nature and Attributes of God, and to his ignorance—wilful or undesigned—of the requirements of the moral law. We have seen (chapter

2. The cause of Muhammad's moral declension, and of his unmoral teaching may also be found in his mistaken conception of God, and of His moral law

iii. p. 30) that Muḥammad's conception of God was lacking in several of the essential attributes of Deity. He rightly described God as a Sovereign Infinitely

The Muslim conception of God

Exalted, Omnipotent, Omniscient, Holy, Just, Compassionate, and Forgiving. Beautiful and true as the concepts are which these names convey to the Christian, they are 'as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal' to the Muslim mind—empty terms, destitute of all real, or essential, signification. Alláh is described as 'just' in his own supposed 'revelation,' yet he betrays partiality in his dealings with men. He is called 'holy,' yet his purity is degraded, and his deity compromised, by his indulgence towards evildoers, and his connivance at the sins of the 'Prophet'; for is he not also the *indulgent* one to those who 'obey God *and His Apostle*' [Súratu'l-Ḥujurát (xlix) 14].[1] He is said to be compassionate and forgiving, yet he displays a pitiless, unrelenting ruthlessness towards those who are outside the pale of Islám.

Absolute sovereignty, ruthless omnipotence, autocratic will, uncontrolled and unsympathetic, which acknowledges no law or standard outside its own caprice, unrelated, immeasurably remote and separate from his creatures who are mere puppets in the play of destiny, according to his eternal and inflexible decree, imparting to his devotees no impulse towards the good, no influence or attribute of his own divine excellence, jealous of any encroachment on the domain of his own arbitrary prerogative, more ready to inflict punishment than to bestow pleasure, unloving and unloved, alone, unconditioned, impersonal, inaccessible, unapproachable—such is the Muslim conception of God as contained in the Qur'án, and attested by Muslim Tradition.

It is this inadequate conception of God in which there is no Divine Fatherhood to soften the 'hardness'

Negative concepts in the Muslim idea of God

of His Eternal and Immutable Decrees, no redemptive purpose in His Providence, no plan of salvation to reclaim

[1] See also Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 5; Súratu'n-Núr (xxiv) 62; Súratu'l-Aḥzáb (xxxiii) 50, 59, 72; Súratu'sh-Shúrá (xlii) 3.

the fallen and to win them back to righteousness and life, by revealing the greatness of God's love for His creatures, in the substitution of Himself as their Sin-Bearer and Redeemer—it is this idea of God, inadequate because of its negations, and unethical in some of its positive concepts, to which we may trace the unmoral, and at times the immoral, teaching of Muḥammad, by perverting his moral perception, obscuring the real nature of sin, and by lowering and degrading God's moral standard of righteousness, whose ethical precepts are given no prominence, and have no emphasis laid on them, in all Muḥammad's Qur'ánic 'revelations.' In a word, Muḥammad's theology, in Palgrave's phrase, is 'the pantheism of force ' his Faith is, therefore, a religion of the sword.

Final conclusion; Muhammad is self-condemned, and the Faith of Islam is not Divine

Finally, a religion must stand or fall by its conception of God, and its doctrine of sin, for these are questions which lie at the foundation of every religion, and the Faith that errs on these cardinal dogmas must be rejected as false. Judged by this standard, Muḥammad, the Founder of Islám, is self-condemned, and the *Faith of Islám*, which he inculcated is not Divine because it condones moral evil, and belies the character of the Deity from Whom Muḥammad professed to receive all his 'revelations.'

FINIS